



A University of Sussex PhD thesis

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

<http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details

**WHEN THE ROOFTOPS BECAME RED AGAIN:
POST-WAR COMMUNITY DYNAMICS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

Maria Djolai

Ph.D. Development Studies

University of Sussex

May 2015

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:.....

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

Maria Djolai

Ph.D. Development Studies

**WHEN THE ROOFTOPS BECAME RED AGAIN: POST-WAR COMMUNITY
DYNAMICS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

Summary

My thesis explores post-war community formation following the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), the deadliest European violent conflict since WWII. The study draws on 18 months of fieldwork and mixed methods data collection in two small towns, Stolac in Southern Herzegovina and Kotor Varoš in Northern Bosnia, which were exposed to intense violence. The thesis uses the concept of community as analytical optic to avoid ethnic “groupism” perspective, which so often obscures the complexity of social relations and the dynamics of communal life in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It understands community as a place and social relations, and also the psychological sense of community. The thesis argues that while these combined forms of violence lead to community loss, a psychological sense of community among the members is maintained, and plays an important role in post-war community formation. The thesis shows that post-war community formation is not a linear process but a dynamic one, which occurs at different levels of the communal social organization. By exploring daily life and historical narratives of the violence in two different post-war communities, the thesis makes a case that community formation is primarily a localized process, which has a way of bypassing ethnonationalist hegemonies. It makes an original contribution by focusing both on the social interactions and creating a space through interactions between the place and the social in the new community emerges through everyday life.

Acknowledgements

Writing this thesis was one of the most challenging and the most rewarding experiences in my life. There were many people who supported me throughout the process. Without them this effort would not have come to fruition. Before everyone else, my gratitude goes to the places and people in Bosnia and Herzegovina who accepted me for who I am and not for whom my ethnic background should have associated me with in the last war, which is the topic of my thesis. In particular, I would like to thank Minva and her NGO 'Orhideja' Marija for looking after my daughter, and also Fata, Vezira, Čanka, Haska, Kata and Katica, which made my research project possible.

For the experience and the outcome I would like to thank my supervisors at the Institute of Development Studies, Patricia Justino and Jeremy Allouche, who have provided intellectual guidance and offered continuous encouragement and support. Their steadfast faith in my work played a significant role in successful completion of this research project. I appreciate all the hours we spent in discussions and their honest critique that have made this thesis a much better piece of work. I am indebted to Patricia Justino for generously agreeing to support my application for the Leverhulme Research Grant that funded my PhD.

At the Institute of Development Studies I am indebted to Linda Waldman, who was incredibly supportive as a PhD Convenor and providing intellectual input, advice and spending many hours discussing my work. I am also grateful to Deepta Chopra and Robin Luckam for providing sound advice at different stages of my thesis, and to John Drury from the University of Sussex.

I am grateful to the Leverhulme Foundation and their Research Grants scheme, which generously supported three years of my PhD arriving at the crucial point of conducting fieldwork, data analysis and the writing-up process. I very much appreciate the support of the IDS Development Office who supported the project proposal especially to Debbie West for her amazing administrative support throughout the project implementation. Most of all I am grateful to Angela

Dowman without whom it would have been impossible to accomplish this journey. I am also grateful to UNICEF Bosnia and Hercegovina, Selma Kazić in particular, for providing access to the communities at the start of the project.

Being a single mother of a small daughter didn't make my journey easier but certainly shaped the final product. My private circumstances created some great friendships with people who were a constant, positive presence in my life and who supported me unselfishly, especially Machiko Tsubura, Teresa Armijos Burneo, Florence Dafe, Liesbeth de Block and Edita Poljac. Other friends and PhD compatriots shared their insights, ideas and friendship. My special thanks to Phemo Kgomotso, Javier Arellano, Juan Loera Gonzales, Ronald Adamtey, Felix Bevens, Ricardo Goulao Santos, Eric Kasper, Michael Tauson, Hani Morsi, Lidia Cabral, Camilla Lindstrom, Marjoke Oosterom, Naysan Aldapavar, John Spall, Becky Mitchell, Sung Kyu Kim, Yashodan Gorpade and especially three great women and colleagues who went an extra mile to support me – Alia Aghajanian, Maysa Squerat and Katia Teala. I feel deep gratitude to my long-term friends from Serbia. To Slobodan Spasojević who provided incredible emotional support and friendship at the critical times of this PhD process, Diana Radosavljević Milović and Marko Milović who received me into their home as a family and Aleksandar Radin and Lena Bogdanović, who are a constant support in my life. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, I am indebted to Larisa Halilović for her continuous enthusiasm about my work, Rahima Jakubović for friendship and most of all to Jovanka Huseinbegović, without whom this thesis would never have been completed. A very special thanks is to a friend who wishes to remain anonymous, for being there me throughout the whole process, from conceiving ideas to finishing my thesis.

This research project and the thesis would have been very different had it not been for my daughter, Tisa, who remained a source of strength, energy and inspiration. She lived with me in Bosnia and Herzegovina, participated in the fieldwork locations from the age of three and never complained about being on the constant move for more than two years of the research process. I love her very much and hope that being through this process with me will enrich her life and shape her personality to understand, accept and respect complexity and diversity of this world. I am very grateful to the Sinanagić and Draewe families for their support

and assistance at crucial times. I thank my aunt Piroška Szabo who never tired of believing in my work, and me, and who felt that her support was much needed as both of my parents are gone. It is to them, Dr Mirjana Kovačev-Djolai and Imre Djolai that I dedicate this thesis and I know they would have been so happy to see me here today.

1 Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	14
1.1. COMMUNITY, IDENTITY AND LOCALITY IN BiH	19
1.2. RESEARCH RATIONALE	24
1.3. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH.....	27
1.3.1. <i>War in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	29
1.3.2. <i>DAP and Post-war Geographic Community</i>	32
1.4. THESIS STRUCTURE AND ARGUMENTS.....	36
2. Theoretical and Methodological Framework.....	39
2.1. UNDERSTANDING 'COMMUNITY'	40
2.2. COMMUNITY, ETHNICITY AND BOUNDARIES.....	46
2.3. COMMUNITY AND VIOLENCE	50
2.4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK.....	53
2.4.1. <i>Case Study Approach</i>	57
2.4.2. <i>Semi-Structured Interviews</i>	60
2.4.3. <i>Survey</i>	61
2.4.4. <i>The Research Sites</i>	63
2.4.5. <i>The 'Two Wars': Locality and Key Differences</i>	66
2.4.6. <i>Mother, Researcher And Conducting Research At 'Home'</i>	73
2.4.7. <i>Positionality Of The Researcher</i>	75
3. Memories and Experience of Violence: Narrating Community Loss	77
3.1. INTRODUCTION	77
3.2. MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE IN DAILY LIFE	81
3.3. MAKING SENSE OF EXPERIENCE: VIOLENCE DOESN'T HAPPEN TO 'GOOD PEOPLE'	83
3.4. SOLIDARITY AND PROTECTION	86
3.5. COPING WITH DEATH: THANK GOD EVERYONE IS ALIVE	89
3.6. NARRATING THE EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE	90
3.7. RESENTMENT AND DISTRESS: MATERIAL DESTRUCTION OF PLACE	95
3.8. IMAGINED MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE.....	99
3.9. CONCLUSION	102
4. Life In Circles: The Many Nuances Of Post-War Spaces	104
4.1. STOLAC.....	106
4.1.1. <i>Local Spaces And Neighbourhoods</i>	114
4.1.2. <i>Politics Of The Local</i>	118
4.1.3. <i>New Neighbourhoods – Vidovo Polje</i>	122
4.2. KOTOR VAROŠ.....	127
4.2.1. <i>Local Spaces and Neighbourhoods</i>	131
4.2.2. <i>Local Organisational Setup and Integrated Services</i>	132
4.2.3. <i>New Neighbourhood – Bare</i>	134
4.3. CONCLUSION	137
5. Return, Community Membership and Place Attachment.....	142

5.1.	INTRODUCTION	142
5.2.	POST-WAR COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP	146
5.2.1.	<i>Heterogeneity Based on the Pre-war Residence</i>	151
5.2.2.	<i>Culture, Interactions and Group Dominance</i>	155
5.2.3.	<i>Occasional Residence</i>	156
5.2.4.	<i>New Migrants</i>	158
5.3.	RETURN AND SETTLING IN THE PLACE	160
5.4.	HOUSE REPAIRING, BUILDING AND ATTACHMENT	167
5.4.1.	<i>Old House: Being in 'Your Own'</i>	169
5.4.2.	<i>New House</i>	171
5.5.	PLACE ATTACHMENT: LANDSCAPE, HISTORY AND RELIGION	173
5.6.	CONCLUSION	176
6.	From Violent To Non-Violent Post-War Interactions	181
6.1.	ORDINARY LIFE IN VIOLENT CIRCUMSTANCES	183
6.1.1.	<i>Stolac</i>	183
6.1.2.	<i>Kotor Varoš</i>	190
6.2.	NEIGHBOURHOOD INTERACTIONS	193
6.2.1.	<i>Coffee Drinking and Visiting</i>	196
6.2.2.	<i>When Neighbourhood Ties Are Troubled</i>	199
6.3.	OTHER SPACES FOR INTERACTIONS	201
6.3.1.	<i>Example Of Workplace</i>	205
6.4.	CONCLUSION	208
7.	Conclusion	210
7.1.	FOCUS OF THE STUDY AND ARGUMENTS	211
7.2.	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	215
7.3.	CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE	220
7.4.	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND FUTURE RESEARCH	221
8.	Bibliography	223
9.	Annexes	239

Table of Tables

Table 1: Destroyed Housing Units.....	70
Table 2: Protection from War Violence (Author's Data 2013)	88
Table 3: Household Survey (Author's Data 2013)	148
Table 4: Ethnic and Religious Identity (Author's Data 2013)	149
Table 5: Community Members (Author's Data 2013)	154
Table 6: Stolac population by nationality/ by <i>mjesna zajednica</i> (1991 Census) ...	241
Table 7: Stolac population by settlement - 2013 Census data	241
Table 8: Stolac - Ethnic Composition 1991-2013.....	242
Table 9: Kotor Varoš population by nationality/ by <i>mjesna zajednica</i> (1991 Census)	243
Table 10: Kotor Varoš population by <i>settlement</i> (2013 Census data)	244
Table 11: Kotor Varoš - Ethnic Composition 1991-2013.....	244

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina	28
Figure 2: BiH Administrative Division (1998)	34
Figure 3: Stolac (Author's photo 2012)	64
Figure 4: Kotor Varoš (Author's photo 2012)	66
Figure 5: Timeline – war violence 1992-1995 in Stolac and Kotor Varoš.....	69
Figure 6: Focus Group - Map of Stolac.....	112
Figure 7: Mlinica - Carpet-washing place in Stolac (Author's photo 2012)	113
Figure 8: Stolac Town Map.....	117
Figure 9: Vidovo Polje (Author's Photo 2012)	123
Figure 10: Vidovo Polje (Author's map)	127
Figure 11: Kotor Varoš - Municipality Map	130
Figure 12: Kotor Varoš - Bare (Author's map)	136

Acronyms

ABS	Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund
BAM	Bosnia and Herzegovina Convertible Mark (currency)
BD	Brčko District
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CIPS	Citizen Identification Protection System (personal ID)
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CDD	Community Driven Development
CBD	Community Based Development
DAP	Dayton Peace Agreement (Accord)
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
FYROM	The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union (political party)
HOS	Croatian Defence Forces
HVO	Croatian Defence Council
IBHI	Independent Bureau of Humanitarian Issues (BiH NGO)
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEBL	Inter-Entity Boundary Line
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPTF	International Police Task Force
JA	Yugoslav Army
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MDG	Millennium Development Goal

NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RDC	Research and Documentation Centre in Sarajevo
RS	Republika Srpska
SAA	Stabilisation and Association Agreement
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SDA	Party of Democratic Action
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party
SEE	South East Europe
SFOR	NATO Stabilising Force
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SAO	Serbian Autonomous Region
UMCOR	United Methodist Committee on Relief
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation

Glossary

Balija	<i>Balijs and 'poturice' are people of Slavic origin whose ancestors converted to Islam and by doing so are viewed to have committed deathly and unforgivable sin. In the last BiH war, and with the rise of nationalistic sentiments, the word 'balijs' was used by non-Muslims as a derogatory term and hate speech for Bosnian Muslims</i>
Bošnjak	<i>After the last war (1992-1995), the official term for Bosnian Muslims; also defined in the BiH Constitution as one of the three constitutive peoples of BiH</i>
Čaršija	<i>Market (Ottoman archaism)</i>
Četnik	<i>WWII Serbian anti-Axis resistance movement led by Draža Mihajlović. They followed Yugoslav monarchism ideology</i>
Čovjek	<i>Men (male), personality attribute (gender neutral)</i>
Džamija	<i>Mosque</i>
Džemat	<i>Fundamental, basic and smallest organisational unit for Muslims, through which they can perform their religious rights, obligations and activities (the word "jamaat" is similar in origin, with a basic meaning of congregation or a place of gathering)</i>
Gasulhana	<i>A chamber use for preparing burial of a Muslim deceased person</i>
Kotorvarošani	<i>Residents of Kotor Varoš</i>
Ljudi	<i>People</i>
Mahala	<i>The word mahala¹, as one of many Turkish and Arabic words from the Ottoman legacy in BiH, is used predominantly for old Muslim neighbourhoods that more often indicate locality and place.</i>
Maktab	<i>Muslim elementary school (Arabic: "school")</i>
Masdžid	<i>Mosque</i>
Medja	<i>Land border</i>
Medžlis	<i>Local Council of Islamic Community, commonly comprising seven smaller territorial and administrative units, or 'džemat'. In BiH, medžlis territorially commonly overlaps with opština as an administrative (and territorial) governance unit</i>
Munara	<i>Minaret</i>
Mjesna zajednica	<i>Smallest governance and administrative unit in BiH, municipal subunit</i>

¹ *Mahala* or *ma'la* – part of a town or village, town quarter, hamlet, street (Turkish) and *mahallah* in Arabic, country subdivision (e.g. Bangladesh) or neighborhood.

<i>Nacija</i>	<i>Ethno-religious category, nation</i>
<i>Narod</i>	<i>Nation</i>
<i>Nišan</i>	<i>Type of upright stone monolith (tombstone) in BiH</i>
<i>Pošten</i>	<i>Honest, fair trustworthy</i>
<i>Opština</i>	<i>Municipality, basic administrative and governance unit in BiH</i>
<i>Seljak</i>	<i>Peasant</i>
<i>Stećak</i>	<i>Monolithic, medieval tombstones found throughout present day BiH, but also in Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia</i>
<i>Stočani</i>	<i>Residents of Stolac</i>
<i>Tekija</i>	<i>Tekke is a building designed specifically for gatherings of Sufi order</i>
<i>Tepa</i>	<i>Market</i>
<i>Turbe</i>	<i>A tomb and adjacent mausoleum typically for royalty and notables</i>
<i>Ustaše</i>	<i>Ustashi, members of the Croatian Revolutionary Movement, were Croatian fascists and ultranationalists active between 1929 and 1945. They were responsible for killing of thousands of non-Croats during WW2.</i>

1. Introduction

*Together, place and people precipitate commonly held conventional premises
about how to get along in that place and conditions of that place.*

On Mayan community in Guatemala, Watanabe (1992:12)

Violent conflicts are seen as arguably one of the most important challenges facing the world today. As such, they have enormous impact on affected societies, which is why we need to understand the changes they bring. There were two significant violent conflict trends following the end of World War II. First, interstate and internal conflicts declined dramatically in the 1990s and into the early 2000s, falling over 60% from their peak levels (Themnér and Wallensteen 2013). At the same time, the nature of war has been changing ever since the end of the Cold War era, particularly in the light of the challenges around identity and globalisation; as such, these are viewed as ‘new wars’ (Kaldor 2012; Richards 2005). The physical impact of these conflicts is often severe, owing to lethal violence resulting in tens of thousands of dead, wounded and displaced people, and they continue to create severe humanitarian emergencies across the world. Second, a substantial number of the violent conflicts since the end of the Cold War era have had nationalistic or ethnic dimensions (Brown 2001; Gusterson 2007). For this reason, it is important to understand their causes and their consequences.

In civil wars people who live in tightly knit communities with close personal ties, including kin, friends and neighbours, often inflict deadly violence on one another. As Bringa (2005:189) notes “[t]he perpetrators of the crimes often are members of the victim’s own pre-war society and even local community.” When the war is over, many of the same people go back to living together, which forces them to renegotiate their social relations that were altered through violence. Because of this a post-war state is inherently dynamic: a time of fluidity, characterised by frequent changes of social, economic, and political conditions at the micro, meso

and macro levels of society. My thesis explores these dynamics at the community level to understand how the war affected structure and composition, interpersonal relations and individual behaviours of the community members. To explain this process I examine the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), the deadliest violent conflict on European soil since the Second World War (WW2). This conflict lasted from 1992 to 1995 and resulted in massive displacement of around 2.2 million people (Tabeau and Bijak 2005); the total destruction of around 420,000 homes and other assets (Herzegovina 2005); and severe damage to public infrastructure and much of the country's historical and religious sites, particularly of Islamic religious origin². Around 100,000³ people died (Tabeau and Bijak 2005) and many are still unaccounted for and are listed as missing persons⁴. These figures indicate that the majority of the 4.374 million citizens of BiH were directly exposed to violence, displacement, or losses of their homes and communities.

In the study I define civil war “...as armed combat within the boundaries of a recognised sovereign entity between parties subject to a common authority at the outset of the hostilities.” (Kalyvas 2006: 5) Ethnic war is a subcategory of civil war and is understood as “... war among communities (ethnicities) that are in conflict over the power relationship that exists between those communities and the state.” (Sambanis 2001: 261) Kaufman (1996:138) further adds “[o]pposing communities in ethnic civil conflicts hold irreconcilable visions of the identity, borders, and citizenship of the state.” The Bosnian war was about the vision of creating borders that would delineate mono-ethnic territories, which will be created by breaking up and resettling ethnic communities that used to live mixed in Yugoslavia. The predominant view in the literature is that the former Yugoslavia carried a certain degree of conflict potential because of its ethnic diversity (Blagojevic 2009) and that the war in BiH was ethnic in character. Despite some criticisms of this understanding, because the violence was most often targeting people based on their ethnic belonging and the way that the country was partitioned along the lines

² Andras Riedlmayer (2002, 2007) compiled comprehensive list of destroyed mosques, churches, museums, libraries and archives.

³ Also data from Research and Documentation Center in Sarajevo (2007)

⁴ International Commission on Missing Persons: around 31,500 of the total number of 100,000 are missing persons and around 30% are still unaccounted for.

created through fighting, the ethnic lens has also become dominant in studies of post-war BiH society. My thesis argues that this approach has disregarded many aspects of the quotidian lives of people and their communities, and it is too narrow to provide understanding of the current BiH society. In order to cover this gap we need to pay attention to nuances of daily life at the local level and move beyond ethno-nationalist categories to discuss what is being 'seen on the ground' (Bougarel et al. 2007: 14). It is important to understand on what other bases people meet, interact and behave in their daily lives after being affected by war and violence and how, through this process and interactions with the place of living, community comes about. These questions motivate my thesis.

Interest in war and violence has been on the social science agenda for centuries⁵. Anthropologists developed an interest in understanding the causes and consequences of conflict and war a long time ago (Gluckman 1955; Otterbein 1968). More recently, rigorous studies have improved our understanding of the causes of civil wars (Blattman and Miguel 2010; Cramer 2006; Kalyvas 2006) and the consequences of this violence for individuals, households and communities has been expanding in recent years. The last few years have witnessed an increased focus on the analysis of conflict at the micro level (Justino et al. 2013; Verwimp et al. 2009) with both theoretical and empirical contributions (Brück 2010). We have a good understanding of the impact of conflict on households, particularly linked with poverty (Justino 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010) or among specific social groups, such as war widows (Bruck 2009).

Understanding the impact of violent conflict on social relations has also received increased scholarly attention over the past decade, particularly within the theoretical framework of social capital and social cohesion. The landmark study in this field, conducted by Colletta and Cullen (2000), pointed out to links between social capital and violent conflict, showing that it varies depending on the nature, intensity and duration of the conflict. Studies that investigate the links between

⁵ For detailed review see Malesevic (2010)

war violence and social cohesion at the community level during the post-war period also started to emerge and reveal contradictory findings. Gilligan et al. (2013) find that community-level exposure to fatal violence increased community-level social cohesion in the civil war in Nepal, measured by collective behaviour in voter turnout and the functioning of community organisations. Blattman (2009) has arrived at similar findings for Uganda, as have Bellows and Miguel (2009) for local collective action in Sierra Leone. In contrast, Weidmann and Zurcher (2013) find that exposure to violence has a negative impact on communal cohesion, because of the cleavages resulting from the support of warring parties at the village level. Also, the patterns, intensity and repertoire of war violence affect the social processes of war, such as the polarisation of social identities or the transformation of gender roles; these in turn may affect social changes and the rebuilding of social cohesion after the war (Wood 2008). The contrasting findings search for better understanding of the links between post-war social processes and war violence.

At the time of my fieldwork in 2012 and 2013 the war had officially been over for 17 years, but the country was still in a state that Reyhler and Langer (2006:5) describe as more or less 'stable unresolvedness'. This means that to a large extent the hostilities had stopped, but the root causes of the conflict had not been addressed, institutional and structural changes were still under way and the region largely depended on the presence or leverage of outside actors for maintaining stability (*ibid.*). For BiH specifically, even though the peacekeeping forces' (SFOR⁶) mission had ended in 2004, the country still remains under the auspices of the Office of the High Representative, despite the fact that most of the requirements of the Dayton Peace Agreement⁷ (also referred to as DAP or Dayton Peace Accord) had been implemented to a large extent: the return of the displaced population and the restitution of properties, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. Despite some criticisms (Bose 2002, 2007; Fischer 2006; Paris 2004), the peacebuilding effort in BiH should be viewed as successful because it stopped the

⁶ Stabilization Force

⁷ http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=380 (last accessed 11/03/2016)

bloodshed and managed to facilitate the reinstatement of a large number of people back to their homes.

Given the war, peacebuilding, reconstruction and reconciliation, BiH has received extensive academic attention, owing in a large part to the war's brutality. The war violence also received significant scholarly attention, which is documented in anthropological studies of people's lived experiences (Kolind 2008; Macek 2009; Sorabji 2006), in reports of human rights abuses⁸ and in the proceedings of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Moreover, the conflict attracted unprecedented media attention as well as generous foreign aid and development assistance as part of the reconstruction effort. A significant contribution to understanding post-war recovery and social processes in BiH at the communal level is offered by small scale anthropological studies that have focused on understanding the nature of reconciliation through cultural practices and the temporary and permanent return of displaced people (Eastmond 2010; Helms 2010; Jansen and Lofving 2009; Jansen 2009, 2010; Stefansson 2010); the relevance of truth and reconciliation processes and the role of the ICTY (Basic 2006; Meernik 2005; Nettelfield 2010; Selimovic 2010); and the legacies of violence in post-war Stolac (Kolind 2008). War ethnographers have focused on the experience of violence in Sarajevo (Macek 2005, 2009). Some authors have shown that inter-ethnic cooperation (Pickering 2006; Pickering 2007) and inter-ethnic trust (Ward, 2007) were preserved despite the war. These studies have drawn attention to the significance of understanding what drives social relations or rebuilding life in the pre-war place of living, as well as the challenges that specific social groups that fall outside the ethno-nationalist categories face, such as displaced persons, pre-war socialist working class or war veterans⁹. However, little attention has been paid to the community as a whole, although it is a space in which people settle and negotiate their post-war lives within new social categories, new socio-political and territorial borders and boundaries. By analysing

⁸ Human Rights Watch, International Crisis Group, IWPR

⁹ For a review, see Bougarel (2007).

community formation and daily life in two small towns in BiH, this thesis aims to fill this gap.

Understanding community formation in a post-war context is important for strengthening policies of peacebuilding interventions, reconciliation and recovery. Mary Anderson (1999) warned about peacebuilding interventions creating more harm than good by failing to understand the local context of the communities in which they implement reconstruction projects. Today, community-driven reconstruction is one of the dominant strategies of engagement in conflict-affected and post-conflict areas by many international donors¹⁰. Community Based Development (CBD) and its extensive application have become one of the key approaches for post-war reconstruction and development assistance, but academics and practitioners call for greater scrutiny of the concept (Barron 2010). There is also a need for better understanding of the interventions' outcomes and evaluation of projects, and also how the application of complex contextual concepts such as 'participation', 'social capital' and 'empowerment' contributes to project design and implementation (Mansuri and Rao 2004). For these different forms of involvement there needs to be a better understanding of local realities among the calls to rethink development policy and practice in conflict-affected areas (Allouche and Lind 2013). Some academic literature has started looking into the links of such programmes with local post-war social processes (Fearon et al. 2009; Richards et al. 2004) but they lack theoretical clarity.

1.1. Community, Identity and Locality in BiH

What constitutes a community in the BiH context? First, it is geographic and usually administratively and territorially delineated as municipality, town and village. Several foreign anthropologists who conducted ethnographic fieldwork before 1990, such as Lockwood and Bringa, documented the typical structure of a rural or small urban community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In an anthropological

¹⁰ UNDP, Global Communities, UNHCR, International Rescue Committee

study of Donji and Gornji Vakuf and Bugojno in central Bosnia, Lockwood (1975) describes the physical and human factors of the three towns in a typically set ethnographic study. He refers to municipalities (*opštine*) as a commune (p.16) within specific geographic boundaries. He also pays particular attention to their location and the transport system that was connecting them with the wider area. As a social structure, he categorised the local population ‘... into a number of different social subdivisions according to a variety of criteria’ (Lockwood 1975: 20), including ethnicity, religion and residence. He outlines the following social groups: townsmen and peasants, who could be lowland or highland peasants; inhabitants of individual villages and groups of villages; and inhabitants of different communities, concluding that all these units of social structure are based on geographical location. He notes that the inhabitants of any of these localities are often referred to “[b]y a term derived by the locality name.” This is something I found in my study, too, where the residents of the two towns referred to themselves as Stočani and Kotorvarošani. In general, people in BiH tend to introduce themselves as resident of a town or a village where they come from such as those from Sarajevo identifying as *Sarajlija*, which justifies definition of (village) ethnocentrism used by Hillery (1959, 1982). Premilovac (2005) shows that the identities of people in BiH are very much constructed as local identities and argues that national and ethnic identification in communities affected by war fades over time. Local identity and local life is of great importance in BiH, which is why this study focuses on the community level.

There is also wider geographic-cultural association based on two geographic regions: Bosnia and Herzegovina. They were not part of the same state, administratively or territorially; they existed as independent countries or territories or under the administration of other states, such as the Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian empires, with different degrees of autonomy since the start of the second millennium (Malcolm 2002). Because of this, people in BiH have very strong regional identity associated with one of the geographic areas, Bosnia or Herzegovina, each with distinct cultural traits and clear physical boundaries. In everyday language people refer to each other as *Bosanci* (Bosnians i.e. from

Bosnia) and *Hercegovci* (Herzegovinians i.e. from Herzegovina). These two groups can be perceived as communities based on Benedict Anderson's (1991) idea of 'imagined communities' where people in BiH use these regional identities, defined by socio-cultural and historic characteristics, both as self-categorization or categorization of 'others' (Andjelic 2000; Bellamy 2003; Stefansson 2007). The town of Stolac is located in Southern Herzegovina and the residents would never refer to themselves as *Bosanci*, and the same is true for Kotor Varoš where they would never identify as *Hercegovci*.

In terms of ethnic groups, before the last war Bosnia was a mix of a predominantly Serb and Muslim population, while Herzegovina had a geographical division to East Herzegovina with a predominantly Serbian Orthodox population and West Herzegovina with Catholic Croats. Regional identities were strong for the people of former Yugoslavia and for me, personally, as someone coming from Vojvodina¹¹, this was always more important than ethnic categorisation. I had no family or genealogical connections with BiH, but social identities of *Bosanci* and *Hercegovci* based on geography were a common way of referring to BiH population. For everyone in the Former Yugoslavia, regional identities were bound with particular stereotypes ranging from behaviours, to personal characteristics and everyday life. While studying the marketplace in BiH as an integrative mechanism for ethnic heterogeneity, Lockwood (1975) accumulated a collection of stereotypes based on the regional identities of the Former Yugoslavia.

Lockwood also recognizes the ethnic heterogeneity that was typical of Yugoslavia and even more so for BiH, continuing with a discussion of ethnic boundaries using Barth's (1969) concept of ethnic groups and linking it to the term *nacija*, which I will return to in the following section. He finds that rural Bosnian society is organized on two principles: kinship and residence, with an important observation that "[g]roups based on ethnicity and locality make up the structure of Bosnian society as a whole..., groups based on kinship and residence make up the structure

¹¹ One of the two Autonomous Province in the former SFRY,, geographically part of the Republic of Serbia.

of the individual community.” (1975:57) I use these principles as the core for my study and the main arguments, raising a question of when BiH society became ethnically segregated on the national level, whether this was reflected in the local communities or if they maintained their social organisation within the principles of kinship and residence, and how the two domains interact? As I will explain in the following chapter, the discussion is embedded in the sociological theories of Simmel, Durkheim and Tonnies, juxtaposing the concepts of society and community.

Twenty years after Lockwood’s study Tone Bringa (1995) conducted research in the same part of Bosnia and documented life of a village community over an extended period of time. She takes the discussion of (ethnic and religious) identity and community to a new level by addressing spatial and cultural boundaries in a village in between Muslim and Croat residents. She expands the understanding of meaning of kinship and residence, and provides an in-depth analysis of the households and land and the importance they give to local social life and ethno-religious identities. She investigated local institutions, which included family, stratification, economics, mutual aid, socialisation and religion, arguing that the complexity of these different aspects of life are important for our understanding of Bosnian Muslim identity. What both of these authors achieved is to show the complexity of the BiH society through a study of community. This study is drawing on Bringa’s work to situate my analysis of the social relations in the two towns and in conceptualising community.

Both of these authors explain the categories of *narod* and *nacija* that were in use in Yugoslavia, as categorization and identity determinants based on ethnicity, religion or the nation state. Bringa (1995:22) states that “[t]he term *nacija* referred specifically to what I term ethnoreligious identity and community.” Through its history, Yugoslavia was very organized in its implementation of censuses and keeping records on population structure and size, including language, religion and national affiliation and it is possible to obtain historic

information about ethnic groups in the region. In the first census of 31st January 1921¹², when the country still existed as Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, people were asked to declare their mother tongue and religion, while ethnic groups were constructed based on these two criteria. In the next census, 10 years later (31st March 1931), a new category of *narodnost* has been added allowing for a choice of Yugoslavian or any of the following categories: Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians, Montenegrins and undeclared Muslims, who were listed as Yugoslavians (Mrdjen, 2002). The inauguration of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was declared on 3 October 1929 by King Alexander I, which replaced the country's old title and established Yugoslavia as a nation. Although differences between the categories were based on language and religion, this was a significant shift of exchanging religious for national identity, particularly notable in the more global trend of the secularization of the Muslim as a religion (Malcolm 2002) at the time. The term 'ethnic affiliation' featured for the first time in the SFRY census of 1971. In the subsequent two censuses, which were held every ten years until 1991, the categories were changed to accommodate the prevailing political climate and legal and institutional changes of the former Yugoslavia. In the 1991 census, which is the most widely used demographic source in academic literature, people were asked to declare their national group¹³ (rather than ethnicity), mother tongue and religious affiliation.¹⁴ All of these are commonly referred to as ethnic groups in English speaking literature, which does not reflect the complexity of the connotative power of these terms. Bringa (1995:22) also criticises using the terms "nation" and "ethnic group" in a Western European sense because it would "... mean ignoring and distorting local conceptualisation." *Narodi*¹⁵ were constituent people (or nations) of the former Yugoslavia. In addition, the definition of *narodnost*, also takes into consideration regional and associated cultural components, both of which are distinctive in the case of the mixing of populations.

¹² Census data and categorization for the listed years (1921, 1931 and 1971) is from Mrdjen (2002)

¹³ It is important to note here that citizens were not asked to declare their ethnicity but national group affiliation.

¹⁴ <http://www.fzs.ba/Dem/Popis/Etnicka%20obilježja%20stanovnistva%20bilten%20233.pdf> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

¹⁵ In the former Yugoslavia there were six main national groups that were defined as *narodi* (Greek 'demos' (δῆμος)– people or populace, also commoner) and smaller or minority (ethnic) groups that were defined as *narodnosti* (corresponding to nation or nationality). Therefore, former Yugoslavia constitutionally was a country of all people living in it.

They used to determine minority national groups who lived in Yugoslavia (e.g. Hungarians). In this study, I decided to refer to the three ethnicities that are now constitutive nations of BiH, as Muslims, Serbs and Croats as they were referred to in 1991 census, based on the literature, data and my interviewees own preference of self-identification as Muslims rather than Bosniaks (*Bošnjaci*).

1.2. Research Rationale

The thesis explores post-war community dynamics in two small towns: Stolac in Southern Herzegovina and Kotor Varoš in Northern Bosnia using an ethnographic and mixed methods approach. Stolac is located in the Federation of BiH and Kotor Varoš is in the Republic Srpska, so as to take into account the complexities of the BiH institutional, administrative and governance framework that was put in the place by DAP. The emphasis of thesis is placed on geographic community as a place where people settle after the war rather than their ethnic communities, although the two have many crossover points, as I will discuss later in the thesis. Rather than using a specific community definition, this thesis is postulated according to Hillery's (1982) model, which understands community as physical and social space, containing five basic elements: interactions, space, activities, sentiment and institutions. Hillery himself problematizes defining community and proposes that focusing on correlates of the community is the best way forward (p.13). The basic elements common for most of the definitions he reviewed portrayed community as a social group inhabiting a common territory and sharing common ties. My research proposes to concentrate on these elements and the links between them in order to contribute to better understanding of the nature and the process of the post-war community formation and its dynamics.

An essential question that motivates this research is why people decide to build again where they were not wanted, where they were forcibly evicted from, or in a place that was completely destroyed? In other words, the study focuses on the

process of post-war community formation. In order to address this broad question, the analysis of the study is guided by four sub-questions.

1. How did violence lead to community loss and how do the community members narrate this?
2. What is the role of space and place in the community formation?
3. What types of interactions take place between the post-war community members? And what motivates them?
4. What is the role of sentiment in community formation?

While this thesis is concerned with the investigation of the community, this concept is theoretically bound with that of the society, based on the work of Tonnies and Durkheim, which I review in detail in the Conceptual Framework Chapter. In terms of a relationship between society and community in BiH, the two towns presented in this thesis are examples of the way in which the post-war reality is "...collapsed into and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations, rather than something monolithic or external to them." (Falzon 2009) In order to answer the main question, this study will explore different elements of community: the links between the members and the physical space; the connections between the members themselves including the boundaries; and the sentiment towards community, which can be linked to both people and spaces. The thesis engages with the literature on sociology and psychology of community, literature on ethnicity and violence. In addressing community, the specific focus is on social interactions and boundaries and how they are created or overcome through everyday life, drawing on the work of Lefebvre and Certeau. Because it investigates – and, to an extent, juxtaposes – the local situations of the two towns and their spaces, ties and relationships, the thesis is structured into discussions of the community elements in each of these towns. The pre-war community in Stolac was very much embedded in strong ethnocentrism of being a 'sacred space' (Mahmutcehajic 2011) and the centre of Muslim culture to which local intellectual elites devoted emotional debates. This prompted mindless Croatian nationalist it

was imperative to destroy it completely during the war, which they did in 1993. For this reason, the study devoted extensive ethnographic research to understand the complexity of the post-war town as a place and a space. In contrast, Kotor Varoš was an ordinary, underdeveloped Bosnian town whose residents had strong attachment to it, but its significance is not elevated to that of Stolac for ideological and religious clash. That was the second research site and my focus there was less ethnographic and more of a structured enquiry.

Community studies understand community as a realm of space and people who live in them (Frankenberg 1969; Gusfield 1975) and where daily interactions are frequent (Petersen 2001: 16). Interactions also define a social group (Bruhn 2009a; Bruhn 2011) and a community can be conceptualised as one. Post-war reconciliation often facilitates interactions between parties at war as a way of peacebuilding, particularly at the local level. But an understanding of what motivates community members to interact still demands further enquiry. Interactions are the first element of the community model on which my thesis focuses and I use Turners work (1988), which focuses on motivational process of interactions.

The next element this research investigates is sentiment, which is an emotional bond between the community's members in the form of a sense of belonging or a sense of community, (McMillan and Chavis 1986; McMillan 1996; Sarason 1974), a sense of togetherness (Moody and White 2003), or place attachment (Altman and Low 1992; Manzo and Devine-Wright 2014). The thesis will draw on these bodies of literature to explain how community members interact, how are they are connected to space and to each other, and how this facilitates post-war community formation. I argue that because of the outcomes and the nature of the violence, which created deep trauma, but also because of the extent to which people's everyday lives were transformed by the war, we need to understand both the structural and the emotional aspects of community.

Links between violence and place are discussed in the thesis, drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991) on the dialectical relationship between space and the social. Lefebvre claims that each new society that comes about, which could be through the use of violence, will want to 'shape its own space' (1991:412). He compares this to a 'work' of an artist, because the 'new' and the 'old' society may not have the same vision of the space and they will need to go through a process of negotiating the final outcome. In the BiH war, violence was used to create a space, which it was imagined would be consisting of a particular ethnic group, its historic artefacts or religious symbols, while the presence of other groups would be wiped out, not just the present but also their past existence (Bevan 2006). When the war was over, people resisted against this setup and many returned to the pre-war communities with a wish to maintain the space with the characteristics it had had before the war broke out. Through rebuilding communities, they entered a process of negotiation of their post-war life.

1.3. Background to the research

The first BiH post-war census was held in 2013. Until then, population size was the subject of various estimates and for nearly two decades there was no accurate information on how many people were living in the country or in specific places after the end of the war, between 1996 and 2014. Before the last census, the most reliable information on population numbers and structure was available from the state Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which set the population estimate at 3,842,762 (UNFPA, 2008). Local sources such as municipal administrations and departments managing displacement and return held fairly reliable, if not complete, information on local population return and the arrival of new settlers. It is important that we have come to the point of holding accurate population data and being able to investigate the impact of the war on population structure at all levels, including community. I use the new census data to discuss population changes in the two towns. So far, the National Office of Statistics has released only population numbers according to municipality and populated

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Physical Map

Map showing the physical features of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including major rivers (Sava, Drina, Vrbas, Krivaja, Bosna, Neretva, Una), mountain ranges (Dinaric Alps, Vlasica Mts), and the capital city, Sarajevo. The map also displays the surrounding countries: Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro, and the Adriatic Sea.

LEGEND

- Int'l. Boundary
- River
- Mountain Peak
- Country Capital
- Waterbody

Height (m)

9000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1500
1000
500
200
0

Geographical Features:

- Mountains:** Dinaric Alps, Vlasica Mts, Bjelašnica (2067 m), Maglic (2386 m), Jahorina (1913 m).
- Rivers:** Sava, Drina, Vrbas, Krivaja, Bosna, Neretva, Una.
- Coastal Features:** Adriatic Sea, Dubrovnik (city).

Scale: 0 to 50 Km / 0 to 25 Miles

Copyright: © 2014 www.mapsofworld.com (Created on 25th June, 2014)

¹⁷ Free map from www.mapsofworld.com (last accessed 11/03/2016)

1.3.1. War in Bosnia and Herzegovina

When thinking about how to frame the background to this thesis, I was guided by a statement put forward, explicitly or implicitly, by many of my interviewees during the fieldwork, who would often say: “It is the politicians who made us get at each other’s throats.” They suggested that ethnic hatred or genuine grievances based on ethnicity were a myth, particularly for those living together in close social circles of family, neighbourhood and community. Many studies have dealt with the causes of the BiH war in detail, both academic and journalistic (Andjelic 2003; Denitch 1994; Glenny 1992; Silber and Little 1995, 1996; Sudetic 1998; Woodward 1995). Out all of the former Yugoslav Republics, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo became the arenas of highest contestation and, as such, the areas that paid the highest tally in the wars that were fought on and for their territories. BiH entered the war as one of the Socialist Republics or the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and emerged from it as an independent state for the first time since the medieval Bosnian kingdom ruled by King Tvrtko (Malcolm 2002: 169).

Explanations for what caused the Bosnian war vary, but most are intrinsically linked to the ethnic diversity of Yugoslavia. Different models for the causes of this war are synthesised by Blagojevic (2009) and Zupanov et al. (1995) . The former proposes four explanations: primordialist, institutional, political entrepreneurs and competition for resources. The latter accounted for explanations based on conspiracy theory, ethnic hatred theory (primordialist approach), theory of equal guilt and media theory. At the beginning, particularly in the popular press and journalistic writing, the war was commonly portrayed as the result of long term suppressed ethnic hatred and hostilities, most famously portrayed in Robert Kaplan’s paper and subsequent book ‘Balkan Ghost’ (1994) . Despite popular acclaim, the book is incorrect on a number of issues, from its explanation of the causes of the war, to referring to BiH as a “morass of ethnically mixed villages in the mountains.” The paper made it to the desks of high-ranking foreign diplomats who were involved in the attempts to resolve the crisis in the former SFRY, who

also reflected the same view¹⁸, thereby portraying the Yugoslav people as ‘wild’ Balkan tribes (Zupanov, 1996: 405). Such approaches have also attracted significant criticism and, for example, Fearon and Laitin (2003) showed that ethnic diversity should not be viewed as the root cause of civil wars, arguing that factors that favour insurgency are state weakness, poverty, and large populations, as well as grievances stemming from economic inequalities, state oppression, and discrimination against minorities.

In a detailed study, Hodson, Sekulic and Massey (1994) criticised primordialist approach, suggesting that more attention should be paid to our understanding of the underlying structural causes of the Bosnian war. Their study used the 1991 census data, to show that Bosnia and Vojvodina were the most nationally heterogeneous regions of the former Yugoslavia with no single nationality making up more than 54.4% (Serbs in the Vojvodina) and 39.5% (Muslims in Bosnia) of their populations, respectively (Hodson et al. 1994: 1543). At the same time they had the highest levels of tolerance for other ethnic groups. Kalyvas and Sambanis (2005) also called for putting more emphasis on an in-depth understanding of political institutions and their role in the onset of the war. At the end of the 1980s, the former SFRY was a socialist country ruled by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and was undergoing economic and political reforms that aimed to transform a socialist society into a market economy and democracy (Woodward 1995). This led to the first democratic elections in SFRY, which were held in November 1990, marking the beginning of the end of the communist era. The seats and votes gained by the national parties were almost directly proportional to individuals’ choices of national identity in the 1981 census (Woodward 1995: 122) and the dominant cleavage divisions after these elections became ethnic ones (Caspersen 2010). The people’s voting preferences and their national identity overlapped, but they were not necessarily driven by a wish to engage into bloodshed, particularly at the community level, where different ethnicities coexisted peacefully.

¹⁸ E.g. Douglas Herd and Elisabeth Drew, quoted in Blagojevic (2009:14); Colin Powell, Warren Christopher, Cutillero quoted in Zupanov (1996:405).

The political science literature places an emphasis understanding of how nationalist political elites were powerful in mobilising popular support along ethnic lines, thereby creating the grounds for the outbreak of violence. Gagnon (2004) argues that the war in BiH (as well as in Croatia and Kosovo) did not arise from "ancient ethnic hatreds" but developed as a result of the manipulation of the citizens by nationalist political elites. In-depth arguments concerning the role of Serbian political elites in the break-up of Yugoslavia with emphasis on the intra-group rivalries and support network that existed within elite political groups even suggest that popular mobilisation was less significant in the outbreak of violence (Caspersen 2010). Petersen (2002) argues that motivation for ethnic violence in BiH should be sought in emotions "that work to change the level of saliency of desire for basic things." (p.3) This short review provides scholarly angle to point that my interviewees made about how politicians manipulated the people by using ethnic sentiments to mobilise them into ethnic violence. This is an approach I use in the thesis to set the background for understanding the post-war communities that, I argue, shouldn't be viewed as genuinely ethnically divided.

This study has a particular focus on the war violence and its destructive impact on individuals and communities. As I discussed earlier, the death toll of the BiH war was the highest in Europe since the Second World War. Not all the places were equally affected by violence, whose distribution and intensity varied across the country. Several studies provide detailed analysis, showing that the distribution of violence is related to the territorial aspirations of the parties at war. Where the ethnic contestation over the territories is highest, there were more confrontations between armed groups but also the highest level of one-sided violence against civilians. For this reason, outlying and heterogeneous areas of BiH experienced the highest violent contestation (Costalli and Moro 2012; Weidmann 2009). While municipalities with predominantly Muslim populations (above 50%) experienced a higher concentration of violence, those with a different ethnic composition saw no fighting at all, notably homogeneous and predominantly Catholic communities

in western Herzegovina (Berger, 2008). I used these studies to select the research sites that were exposed to high intensity of violence.

1.3.2. DAP and Post-war Geographic Community

Today, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a struggling state, fragmented and contested on many levels owing to the institutional framework put in place since the DAP, which brought an end to the four-year war (1992-1995). While ending violence, the DAP recognised “territorial and ethnopolitical borders established by war and ethnic cleansing” established as early as 1991, even before the official start of the war in BiH (Fischer 2006: 443). The DAP established the Inter Entity Boundary Line that divided the country into three administrative and territorial units: two Entities - the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina - and Brčko District. The DAP allocated 49% of the pre-war BiH territory to Republic Srpska and 51% to the Federation of BiH and initiated new BiH Constitution in which Bosniacs, Croats, and Serbs are defined as constituent peoples (along with ‘Others’) and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁹. It is worth noting that the territorial allocation of the two entities is disproportionate to the pre-war ethnic structure of the country, which counted 43.48% Muslims; 31.21% Serbs; 17.38% Croats and 5.54% Yugoslavs. The Serbian side gained control of half of the country’s territory despite constituting only one third of the pre-war population, a superior territorial outcome in comparison to Muslims and Croats, something that continued to have implications for the reconciliation and conflict resolution (Kaufman 2006).

The progress of peacebuilding and state-building in BiH has been the subject of many policy and academic studies (Bieber 2006; Bose 2002, 2007; Bougarel et al. 2007; Cox 2006; Hayden 2008; Paris 2004; Pugh 2002; World Bank 2011). What many see as the most important outcome of DAP is that BiH has not slipped back into civil war in the 20 years since the peace agreement was signed. Nevertheless, two essential outcomes of the DAP affect the country today. First, the extremely

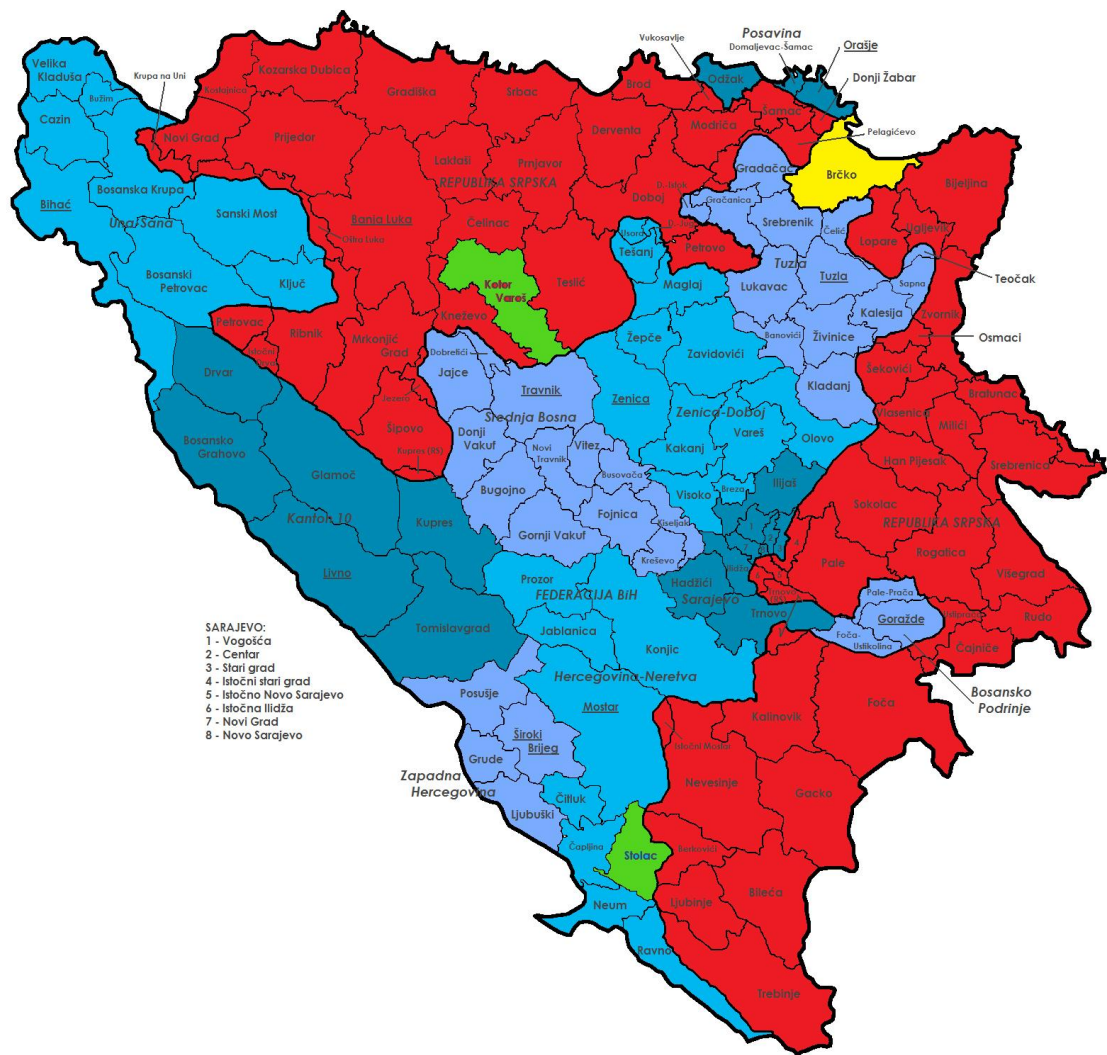
¹⁹ http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=372 (last accessed 11/03/2016)

complicated institutional and administrative framework still largely depends on the presence and leverage of international organisations and also presents an obstacle to progress. Second, this framework is based on principles of ethnic division, which, as a “political engineering” process (Bose 2002: 3), largely disregards historical as well as the long existence of social diversity, local and regional identities, history and the nature of the social relations. The system created post-war ethnic inequality at the institutional level and, consequently, in many communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as social exclusion for large numbers of people who are vulnerable in different ways (Woodward 2011). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) National Human Development Report 2009 (UNDP, 2009) showed that over 50% of the population is socially excluded. The involvement of the international community has been heavy and each step of the peacebuilding and state-building process has been implemented under their direct control - but without true success as the country is failing to achieve peace and sustainability fifteen years after the war.

Before the last war, BiH had 109²⁰ municipalities; but this number increased to 142 as a result of the territorial division of the country. Immediately after the war 149 new municipalities were established, because the town of Mostar was divided into 7 administrative units, but in 2004 Paddy Ashdown²¹ united them and made Mostar one municipal unit, although division to East Mostar (Muslim) and West Mostar (Croat) is still maintained informally. Stolac is geographically close to Mostar and the logic and the background for post-war ethnic divisions was similar, as in many other towns of Southern Herzegovina. Apart from the two Entities and Brčko District, the Federation of BiH was also divided into 10 Cantons, introducing an extremely complicated administrative and governance setup, which is presented in a diagram in Annex 2. At present, municipalities are the smallest

²⁰ <http://www.fzs.ba/Dem/Popis/> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

²¹ Personal memory. I was Head of a Project at the BBC Media Action and we had a project in Mostar 2004-2006 when this happened.

Figure 2: BiH Administrative Division (1998)²²

administrative units in BiH, defined under the Law on Local Self-governance, which regulates a variety of their rights and responsibilities, as well as sources of financing for the municipalities. This law is harmonised with the European Charter of Local Self-Government²³. Each federal unit of BiH, the Federation of BiH and Republic Srpska has their own laws²⁴ on Local Self-governance. Municipalities are typically composed of a number of settlements, ranging in size from several houses to large urban centres. Administratively Stolac and Kotor Varoš are both municipalities and towns, which are the main urban centres of the municipalities with the same name. This study investigates community formation in the two

²² The map shows 142 municipalities in BiH. Green color are Stolac and Kotor Varoš

²³ <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/122.htm> (last accessed 15/03/2016)

²⁴ <http://www.fbihvlada.gov.ba/bosanski/zakoni/2006/zakoni/34bos.htm> (last accessed 15/03/2016) "Službeni glasnik Republike Srpske" number: 101/04

towns in terms of borders, but allows their permeability when it comes to membership and activities because they are not isolated, disconnected places.

The return of refugees and internally displaced persons is regulated by Annex VII of the DAP, giving all persons the right to return to their homes of origin and to have their properties reinstated. This provided possibility for the communities to be reconstructed to the condition in which they existed before 1991. There were more than two million displaced persons during the war, which made the return process complex and challenging, quite often involving moving several families in each individual case of return. Despite the complexity, most of the return was completed by 2003 across the country, particularly in the first three years after the war ended. Indeed, since the end of the war there have been 1,048,498 registered returns, of which around 600,000 (57%) were Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and 450,000 (43%) were refugees. Territorially, around 750,000 (71.5%) of the returns were to Federation of BiH; 250,000 (26.2%) to Republic Srpska and 22,600 (2.3%) to Brčko District²⁵. On the one hand, placing over one million people in just a few years was a remarkable achievement. However, the return figures still do not provide a complete picture of the number of returnees who settled permanently into their pre-war places of residence, or to what extent these returns are sustainable. Registering to return was a condition²⁶ for requesting reconstruction aid but many people, after rebuilding their houses, left again, temporarily or permanently. This has implications for the post-war communities, where the pre-war residents are formally registered as residents and properties, but they don't actually live in the place. I will make a case in the study that different types of residence have implications for interactions and community formation.

The chapter so far set the background to study and outlined important referencing points that will guide it. The next section outlines the thesis structure and

²⁵ BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees Report 2011.

²⁶ Ibid. Also, a personal interview with a representative from the BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees.

arguments, and continues by presenting the theoretical framework of the study in Chapter Two.

1.4. Thesis Structure and Arguments

The first chapter of the thesis is this Introduction, which establishes the thesis and presents the main research questions and arguments. Chapter Two outlines the conceptual framework and theoretical concepts that informed this study and methodological approaches. It starts by outlining different concept of community and explains why I chose to focus on both place and social relations within. It elaborates why this study uses Hillery's model of community, according to which community, is not just the structure and institutions that govern activities and negotiate boundaries; it is also sentiment, which Hillery defines as ethnocentrism or a feeling that one's community is comparatively better than others', but I define as a sense of community. The Chapter Two starts by positioning the thesis within debates about community using sociology and social psychology literature, drawing on the works of Tonnies, Durkheim, Simmel and Sorel. There was a natural progression from their work, particularly Simmel and Sorel, to understanding the sociological significance of conflict and violence. My understanding of violence is based on anthropological literature drawing on the work of Elaine Scarry (1985) and Nancy Scheper-Hughes (2004), and political science literature including Tilly (2003) and Galtung (1969). Finally, I review the relationship between the concepts of community and ethnicity. My understanding of ethnicity draws on the work of Barth (1969), Jenkins (1994, 2008) and Brubaker (2004, 2006, 2013, 2014). The final section of Chapter Two is a discussion of the methodological approaches that were used for this study. I explain why I used more than one approach for data collection; why there was a need for data triangulation; and, perhaps most importantly, why I allowed the interviewees to talk about issues that I did not ask them about, such as their experience of war violence. I discuss in depth the ethical aspects of conducting research in places affected by war violence and why an ethnographic approach is appropriate. The section introduces the two research sites and their locations and

provides a brief overview of how they were affected by the war. Last, I explain the data analysis approach that helped me make sense of the rich and abundant data and translate it into a manageable narrative that captures the complexities of the post-war dynamics in the two towns.

Chapter Three is divided into two parts. The first part outlines how violence led to community loss and explains the local dynamics of violence during the war in each of the towns. It focuses on three forms of violence: physical, forced displacement, and material destruction, and how each of these forms of affected community and 'communality' in the two towns. The second part focuses on interviewees' memories of the experience of violence and the role of these memories in communicating this experience. It details not only what happened but also how the violence became embedded in the daily life of the post-war communities. The chapter further discusses 'imagined memories' of the violence, i.e. where people did not actually experience particular events, but nevertheless talk about them as if they did. These narratives can be understood as meta-data (Fujii 2010), which exists in rumours and inventions, and they are not part of the interviews, questions or answers. Nonetheless, these are collectively constructed memories of a particular violent event, similarly to Portelli's (1991) story about the death of Luigi Trastulli, where he engages in a discussion of how certain events are memorised, narrated and reshaped by social and cultural processes, and what the purpose of this is (Wood 2003). I found this collective memory only in Stolac and the chapter explains the implications for post-war community formation, as a continuation of a community loss for the residents of Stolac, even after the war officially ended. The chapter argues that violence leads to community loss by destroying a physical community and the social relations that existed within it. Finally, it argues that even though violence led to community loss, a sense of community was preserved for its members.

Chapter Four provides an ethnographic account of the towns of Stolac and Kotor Varoš, as I encountered them during my fieldwork in 2012 and 2013. It describes the territorial, spatial and symbolic boundaries in the two towns and discusses the

local politics and to what extent and in what ways they transmit the ethno-nationalist politics dominating post-war BiH in public and political spheres. The towns are both contested spaces on two different levels. One is between the pre-war population and the new settlers, who have a different vision of a community within the same territorial boundaries. The other is between the local authorities that, on the one hand, maintain control of communal resources, and on the other facilitate town planning and access to local services. The section also explains the building of the new neighbourhoods for the new settlers and the impact it had on the interactions between the pre-war population and the new settlers. It presents the discourses and perceptions of the local population that local political actors and their behaviours create conditions for the preferential treatment of a specific ethnic groups, or at least appear to do so, thus creating and maintaining boundaries between local populations. The narrative of the thesis starts from the time when I conducted my fieldwork in 2012 and works backwards to when violence broke out and the community was lost during the war in 1992-1994.

The ensuing two chapters discuss the process of community formation in the two towns. Chapter Five focuses on the social structure of the communities, defines different social groups that live in the community and discusses place attachment to spaces from the pre-war and post-war life. In the first section it discusses the return of the pre-war population, the arrival of the new settlers, and their initial interaction with the place. The second section analyses the house as the central space of people's lives (Bringa 1995) from two different perspectives: first, how people repaired their pre-war houses and built new ones and what motivated them to do so. Secondly, it talks about attachment to the house and how it had both positive and negative impacts on community formation. The third section discusses the rebuilding of public spaces and considers how spatial boundaries between the pre-war population and new settlers are created. In most cases, these were not individual efforts but contained different levels of collective effort, motivated by place attachment. I argue that determination to settle in the place where every house or object has been destroyed is a form of resistance to the outcomes of the war. In this Chapter, I share people's memories of the pre-war community: stories that emerged while conducting interviews, which I use as a

way of creating a picture of pre-war life and of understanding the nature of the two communities in the past and what people are striving for in the future.

Chapter Six analyses the types of interactions between the town resident. An ethnographic account of the two towns established that they both have a pre-war population that has been displaced and returned, as well as those who remained in the towns during the war. They also have new settlers. Therefore, one level of analysis focuses on the social interactions between these groups and their implications for forging community. The second level explores interactions between neighbours, who can belong to any of these social groups based on residence and displacement. The third level of observed interactions is between friends and families. The chapter is based on the idea that at the community level, the interactions are positioned on a continuum ranging from open violence at one extreme to daily, peaceful interactions at the other, with uneasy coexistence and segregation in the middle. However, this is not a linear process, but rather operates in circles at different levels of social organisation and changes over time during the post-war period.

Chapter Seven, the Conclusion, summarises and analyses each chapter and the arguments put forward in this thesis. It explains the contributions of the thesis to the theoretical and empirical bodies of knowledge with which it engages. It also outlines gaps in the study and makes recommendations for further research.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Framework

I lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina for shorter or longer periods of time from 2004 until the completion of the last leg of my fieldwork in 2013. Upon my arrival in April 2004, the scars of the war were visible everywhere, brutal and ominous, making it impossible to forget the recent violence. Over the next three years I travelled extensively across the country and visited many places, most of which

bore at least some sign of war destruction. In the places that experienced brutal violence and a high death toll, the atmosphere was gloomier with a sense of fear and resentment among people. Nevertheless, life was moving on, although people often talked about the past and how their communities used to be before the war, most often recalling social and economic stability. Understanding the interplay between the violence, post-war social processes and moving forward is what motivated this research. To contextualize and understand post-war community formation, this chapter formulates conceptual and methodological frameworks that guided this research.

2.1. Understanding 'community'

Community is warm and wet and intimate;

Society is cold and dry and formal.

B.M. Berger (1998)

'Community' is a powerful element and a key unit of social organisation in our societies and of our engagement with everyday life. As such it has occupied a niche in academic enquiry for many decades. Communities vary; as our societies have changed, communities have, too, and war is certainly one of the agents of change. The main question in academic debates is whether we approach understanding the society of interest as a geographically based community or a community of interaction (Bernard 1973). I discussed in the previous chapter whether community is an appropriate analytical concept and research method for studying post-war social reality. I argued that in BiH life is still very much grounded in the local and that people navigate complex situations through everyday life. Community studies and debates received immense scholarly attention in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century and became a centre point of disciplines such as sociology, social psychology and anthropology, producing some of the most relevant theories of societies and social relations today. However, multi-

disciplinary academic enquiry also led to a lack of conceptual coherence of the concept of community. Community studies as a discipline is founded in the notion that we are all embedded in a physical place, which entails the presence of members who have something in common (Frankenberg 1969). The following section will outline the key concepts of community that I use in the thesis and explain why I selected them to analyse the consequences of the civil war in BiH.

Sociological thinking on community emerged in response to modernization and the development of big cities, which prompted sociologists to ask questions about what this means for individuals and their relationships. More than a hundred years ago Tonnies²⁷ was the first to discuss the impact of the decline of one social order and the rise of the new one through the process of modernization. He contrasted socio-economic and organizational arrangements in small, geographically localized communities that he named *Gemeinschaft* (community) with basic archetypes of social relations such as kinship, family, geographical bonds and a sense of place set against a large-scale market-based society that he named *Gesellschaft* (Tonnies 2001: 95[1887]). Tonnies defines three levels of ties in community. The first is the community of *blood*, which turns into a community of *place* that operates on physical level and that is expressed primarily through living in close proximity to one another, which in the end produces the community of *spirit* (2001:27-28). These three types would correspond and would in later literature be studied as the home (or kinship), neighbourhood and friendship or comradeship. It is not just the nature of social relations that Tonnies was interested in; he also considered authority and the power of communal life and 'household economy' (2001:48) and how they vary for different levels of social organization, as well as the importance of religion. In contrast, he saw *Gesellschaft* as being based on rational will, referring to it as a group of people living alongside each other but are 'essentially detached' and 'remain separate despite everything that unites them' (2001:52). The profile of a village community that Tonnies describes is, for example, illustrated by Flora Thompson (2000), who portrayed the English village of her childhood at the turn

²⁷ The work was published in 1887 but I use a later translation published in 2001 by Harris and referenced in the bibliography of this thesis.

of the 20th century²⁸. I argue that everyday life in BiH is still largely operating within the primary association to village and town communities, which is why we need to understand them.

The main criticism of Tonnies' work came from his contemporary Durkheim (1972, 1995), whose work focuses on social order and the relationship between an individual and society in the same circumstances. He developed a concept of *solidarity* to explain the principles upon which a society is integrated and how members connect with each other. In his view, the connection on the communal level was 'mechanical' in nature because it originated from the daily interactions of living together and here, beliefs were often mixed with social norms that regulated communal action. On the societal level it was 'organic' solidarity expressed through emotional support based on common beliefs, which are clearly distinct from social norms. He further developed this idea by saying that all humans operate within larger social frameworks, using the case study of *suicide* (Durkheim 1972) and showing it was structural in origin, a product of society, rather than merely medical or psychological in nature, as was widely accepted until his research suggested otherwise. The community-society dichotomy approach has been criticized for being inadequate 'as descriptive device' because the social world is not characterised by clear binary boundaries (Eriksen 2001). I find the concept applicable for studying the politically segregated and ethnically polarized society on the macro-level and communities of place on the micro-level in BiH. In post-war BiH ethnic polarization and segregation is often cascaded to the smaller units of social organisation, such as community or neighbourhoods, but there is a need for understanding whether ethnic divisions are maintained and in what form. Hromadžić in her extensive exploration of the town of Mostar, close to Stolac, shows the struggle between integration and segregation practices on the example of local schools (Hromadžić 2015; Hromadžić 2008).

²⁸ This book was given to me as a present by Cornelia Sorabji as a way of familiarizing myself with the UK upon my arrival here in 1999 and I was amazed to find some practices of daily life identical to those in my grandparent's village, that I remembered from my childhood.

Simmel (1955) is another social theorist who is relevant for the investigation into change and its impact on society. He defined society as a social group, which is distinguished through interactions that are dialectic in nature. Simmel was also concerned with human interactions, specifically the culture of face-to-face interactions and different types of groups and the affiliations of their members (Simmel 1950)²⁹, but again reflecting on the changes of the social world. In this understanding, conflict was at the core of change, playing a crucial role in creating or modifying interest groups and organisations. He points out that conflict is “...one of the most vivid interactions” (p.13) but one that creates unity and “...resolves the tensions between contrasts” (p.14). He was the founder of the idea of ties and what motivates them, defined in his essay ‘Web of Group Affiliations’ (1955), which was later developed into the concept of social capital and social cohesion (Woolcock 1998). He discussed family, as the basic social unit, interest groups, voluntary organisations, as well as multiple group affiliations and the relevance of structure for equality and influence within a group. Cooley (1956) had an idea that by studying everyday social interaction between people, it is possible to better understand why people behave in a certain way. These social theorists were interested in understanding everyday social relations and their transformation, which I use to explain social change brought about by violent conflict, which is one of the main contributions of this thesis³⁰.

Another relevant debate is about whether community should be understood as geographically based or in terms of social relations among members who are not bound by territory (Macfarlane 1977; Stacey 1969). Hillery (1955) was the first to conduct a comprehensive review of the definitions of community in an attempt to create classifications, of which he discovered 94. The basic elements common for most of these definitions portrayed community as a social group inhabiting a common territory and sharing common ties. This model was amended in his later work that reflected further debates on community to clarify different concepts.

²⁹ Simmel, G. (1955) “The web of group-affiliation” translated by Reinhard Bendix

³⁰ Classical social thought was deeply engaged in understanding the links between conflict, violence and social change, particularly Marx and Webber. This is extensively reviewed in Malešević (2010). As he points out, “...classical social thought was not, by and large, ignorant of war and violence” (2010:17).

The main feature of community is the presence of a group of people engaging in social interactions. They may take place in a geographic area or there could be some common characteristics that bind the community members together (Hillery 1982). Benedict Anderson (1991) used the approach of interactions not bound by territory for his concept of “imagined communities” to lay foundations for how nationalism emerges. In his view, a nation is socially constructed by its members, who are bound by a sense of belonging to this community (Anderson 1991). More recently, Bruhn (2011), after surveying different types of social connections using examples of real life situations such as immigration, migration, poverty, or loss related to natural disasters concludes that human relationships can be grouped into three levels: interactions, connections and attachments (p.289). He maintains the approach that a community is not based on locale but is a product of interactions (Bruhn 2011), and I use this view to focus on interactions as one of the essential elements of community in this study.

Community is not only a structure that people operate within but also a sense they acquire from being part of it, which Sarason (1974) defined as a *sense of community*. This concept is based on the notion that being part of mutually supportive network of relationships will prevent an individual from experiencing feelings of loneliness. In broadening the understanding of this concept, social psychologists worked further with the idea that sense of community can be developed both from being part of geographical community or in purely “relational” terms, without reference to place (Gusfield 1975). *Sense of community* was further developed in order to describe the relationship between an individual and the social structure (McMillan and Chavis 1986). Their framework outlines four interconnected concepts: membership (sense of belonging or personal relatedness); influence (sense of mattering); integration and fulfilment of needs (gaining a ‘benefit’ from the membership in the group); and shared emotional connection (sharing history, common places, time together etc.). All of these elements have a function of strengthening local cohesion and determining members’ behaviours that, in turn, can act as a catalyst for community development (Chavis and Wandersman 1990) and increase the community’s

capacity to deal with different challenges (Goodman et al. 1998). This thesis uses sense of community, which I understand as equivalent to sentiment in Hillery's model, one of the essential elements of the community. I argue that if a place is destroyed by war, including the forced displacement of population, the sense of community can be maintained and act as a catalyst for the post-war community formation in the place where it existed before.

As my study is based mainly on qualitative enquiry, I selected concepts that can be given meaningful analysis using this methodological approach. Based on McMillan and Chavis (1986), this study takes into account two dimensions of the *sense of community*. First, it investigates *sense of belonging and identification*, as one dimension of membership, which is maintained through close connections with other community members. It is based on feelings, beliefs and expectations of fitting in the group and, at the same time, being accepted by the group. This discussion leads to the concept of cohesiveness, which can have a negative effect by limiting community members' freedoms and behaviours. The second concept is *shared emotional connection*, which is in part based on shared history. Even if the members of the group didn't share historical experiences, they still need to be able to identify with them. This concept is based on the idea that people will become closer with more interactions and positive experiences in a relationship that will make the connection stronger. This is only possible for people who have spent a number of years living together and it will require sharing experiences over a period of time for it to be established. I use *sense of community* and defined attributes to explain several aspects of the post-war community and local life. First, I use it to investigate how the pre-war population perceive new community. In the communities, shared emotional connection is expected to be strong between long-term members but it will be non-existent with the new settlers. Second, I use the concept to discuss whether collective experience of the violence strengthened the bond between the members, as discussed in the following section.

Sense of community comes from social interactions and being part of a group, while place attachment is an emotional connection to the place. In their study, Riger and Lavrakas (1981) show that both social bonds and physical rootedness identify community attachment. Place attachment is a "... a set of feelings about a geographic location that emotionally binds a person to that place as a function of its role as a setting for experience" (Rubinstein and Parmelee 1992). While sense of community represents emotional connection to people, place attachment represents connection to place (Manzo and Perkins 2006; Talen 1999). Both dimensions will have an impact on interactions, neighbourhoods and citizen participation (Mihaylov and Perkins, 2014) and also engagement in a collective action to restore a place following disruption. More recently, important steps have been taken in order to connect place attachment and interpersonal attachment theories (Scannell and Gifford 2010). Place attachment and conflict literature have not been linked, even though there is a connection with forced displacement that is often perceived as a loss of home (Loizos 1981, 1999). Sanguinalida (2010) for example argues that place attachment is one of the motivational drivers for return in the case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, attachment to place is also seen as one of the main dimensions of social cohesion, particularly in urban neighbourhoods (Forrest and Kearns 2001; Kearns and Forrest 2000). I argue that place attachment plays a crucial role for rebuilding the physical community, for interactions and neighbourhood participation. I will focus on the following attributes of place attachment: childhood and memories, environmental memories, possessions in the form of property and specific spaces in the community.

2.2. Community, Ethnicity and Boundaries

The BiH formal setup is consociational democracy (Lijphart 1977) with power sharing between the three main ethnic groups. While national politics remain polarized, local level diversity still exists in many places across the country. However, this demarcation is not clear cut, as ethnicity will inevitably play a role in post-war social relations at the local level and, in this sense, it reflects what Yin (2009) notes in his elaboration of using a case study approach "... when the

boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). Ethnicity is often one of many aspects of people’s identities that will have impact on how they behave in their daily lives. However, as discussed in the previous sections, there are other factors that play a role, too, such as identities based on place of residence or attachment to other social groups such as family, close friends and neighbourhoods. Unlike other forms of identity based around shared feeling of belonging, ethnicity, as Hall (1997) argues, is publicly recognized. Furthermore, a discussion of ethnicity is not only concerned with identities; it is also about boundaries, cultural context and membership. In social sciences, one of the main contemporary approaches to understanding ethnicity is social constructivism (Jenkins 1994, 2008).

This calls for addressing the question of ethnicity, its definition and links with the concept of community, even though ethnicity is the real-life context in which this study is set rather than the focus of enquiry. According to Smith (1996:447) “...ethnic community (or 'ethnie') is a named human population of alleged common ancestry, shared memories and elements of common culture with a link to a specific territory and a measure of solidarity”. Common culture, symbolism and history are used to establish the boundary of the community. Verdery (2000) describes how dead bodies are used as symbols for creating national boundaries in post-socialist Soviet Union and Yugoslavia to establish borders that distinguish “ours” from “theirs”. Malesevic (2011) criticises Smith’s model of ethnic community for the lack of explanation of whether and how it will act as a group, which is important in his view particularly for understanding of motivating factors for the outbreak of the BiH war, as I discussed in Chapter One. Selecting a precise definition of ethnicity poses a challenge because ethnicity is a complex phenomenon. As Isajiw (1974) found in a review of 65 sociological and anthropological studies dealing with different aspects of ethnicity, only 13 included some definition of ethnicity. In the context of this study is appropriate to use Melesevic’s (2011) definition of ethnicity where, based on a detailed analysis of different theoretical frameworks, he comes to conclusion that “...ethnicity is not a substance but a social condition, a particular state of individual and collective

existence.” which means it is changeable and dynamic by nature. The study also uses Gurr’s (1993:3) view, who conceptualises ethnic groups as psychological communities, which corresponds to my use of the sense of community.

Rogers Brubaker’s work (2004, 2014) raises important questions of how we understand and study social categories and groups in the context of ethnicity. He criticizes the tendency to study ethnicity, race and nationhood as individual parts of a system of bounded and closed groups, as well as understanding and explaining conflicts based on any of these categories, or conflicts that emerge from them. In addition to questioning ethnic diversity as a root cause of ethnic conflict, Brubaker (2004:8) also criticises ‘groupism’, which he defines as the “...tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogeneous and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis” as a way of understanding ethnicity. In the same volume, Brubaker and Laitin (2004) provide a comprehensive review of approaches to understanding ethnic violence. They conclude that events of ethnic violence and their nature and context are so heterogeneous that they cannot be explained through a single theoretical lens. Jenkins (2008) expands Brubaker’s argument, further proposing a minimalist definition “... which simply says that a group is a human collectivity the members of which recognize its existence and their membership of it” (Jenkins 2008: 25). Jenkins agrees with Brubaker when he problematizes analytical categories, suggesting that imposing edges that are too rigid to the reality we are studying will create distance between the subject and the researcher. Brubaker (2004) makes one of the two important points that, according to Jenkins (2008), are essential for understanding ethnicity. In his view, the focus on groups without taking into consideration social categorization is wrong. Jenkins criticizes Barth’s idea as well, because it is seen as a ‘vision of social life as perpetual coalition, fission and negotiation...’ (p.169). I agree with both Jenkins and Brubaker and argue that ethnicity in BiH is structured partly around ancestry and land, but it is also partially socially constructed by outside factors, such as elites (Caspersen 2006; Gagnon 2004).

As this is a study of communities that, among other characteristics, are ethnically diverse, it is important to reflect on the issues of ethnic and communal boundaries. Frederic Barth's (1969) seminal work on ethnic groups defined through boundaries rather than group characteristics marked a major shift in studies of ethnicity. In his view, it is what people do to emphasize the difference rather than what they have in common, that defines the identity and qualities of a particular group. His work is relevant for my study for several reasons. First, he suggests that ethnicity is a matter of self-ascription that comes from belonging to a group, an idea that was a decade later formulated into Social Identity theory by Henri Tajfel (1979). This theory posits that individuals' concept of the self is derived from membership of a group. Because it is possible to change the group, ethnic identity should not be understood as fixed. Barth further notes that the "...reduction of cultural differences between ethnic groups does not correlate in any simple way with a reduction in the organizational relevance of ethnic identities, or a breakdown in boundary-maintaining processes." (1969:33) However, the pre-war context in BiH was the opposite of this dynamic. As Bringa (1995) has shown, the cultural differences were maintained through rituals of daily life but the socialist system of organization worked towards the breakdown of these boundaries. This should be taken into consideration when observing community formation in the places where two or more ethnic groups co-reside.

The final discussion that is relevant to my thesis links ethnicity, conflict and violence. The seminal work of Donald Horowitz (1985) focuses on explaining the rise of ethnic conflicts in the 20th century in Africa, Asia and Caribbean. This work is embedded in social theories of conflict where he uses Coser's (1956) definition of social conflict to establish his own concept of groups; he understands ethnic relations as division or cleavages and, consequently, the societies he writes about as ethnically, often severely, divided. Horowitz has made a significant contribution both in systematizing 'ethnic conflict' and in offering logical framework around it, which didn't exist before. Given the discussion so far in the thesis and the work of other social theorists I argue that it is more appropriate to use a term ethnically *diverse* societies than ethnically *divided* as suggested by Horowitz, because of the

constantly changing nature of ethnicity as argued by Jenkins and Brubaker. Furthermore, there can be many economic, political and social factors that create divisions in ethnically diverse societies and many attributes that are neither fixed, nor everlasting and certainly not always organic as Horowitz shows. It is within this complex framework that we need to understand the role of ethnicity in community formation and interactions.

2.3. Community and Violence

On impacts of war violence Schmidt and Schroder (2001:8) write:

Violence produces unique experiences that are culturally mediated and strode in a society's collective memory. Their representation forms an important resource for the perception and legitimation of future violence. Yet, it also produces tangible results ranging from dead bodies to the redistribution of space, the relocation of people and occupation of new territory.

Violence has an ominous and threatening aspect to it, creating profound uncertainty about everything familiar and identifiable in people's lives. There is essential intricacy around the concept of violence. There is violence in peace and violence in war (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004), although the logic and impact on individuals may not differ extensively. During the war in BiH violence invaded people's immediate environment, entered their communities, their homes and families, and often claimed their intimate, private spaces. The violence targeted specific ethnic groups in different communities, not just individuals but their culture and properties as well. People were forced out of the lives in which they were deeply embedded through forced displacement combined with destruction and material damage. Because violence was such a prominent feature in the BiH war it will remain deeply embedded in people's memories and is likely to play central role in post-war social relations.

The concepts of “conflict”, “war”, “revolution” and “violence” are very commonly confused in the literature. As I outlined earlier in this chapter, social conflict doesn’t need to involve violence and it can be instrumental for resolving tensions within social groups (Coser 1956; Simmel 1950). Kalyvas (2006:20) argues that there needs to be an analytical distinction between *civil war* and *violence in civil war*, as they do not mean the same thing. He proposes studying violence as a dynamic process to aid our understanding of the complexity of factors that contribute to or shape violence. He further argues “... areas consumed by the same conflict can exhibit substantial variation in violence.” (ibid.) In a similar vein, Scheper-Hughes and Burgois (2004) note that ‘[m]ost violence is not “senseless” at all.’ Kalyvas (2006) further points out that violence ‘... is intended to shape the behaviour of a targeted audience by altering the expected value of particular actions’ (p.26).

As I discussed in Chapter One, different places in BiH varied in intensity and the type of violence that affected them. The violence that was used in the BiH war was personal, intended and the objects were people belonging to a specific ethnic group; targeted violence against community members will lead to its loss. Galtung’s (1969) typology of violence distinguishes between personal and structural violence. At the personal level, he further distinguishes physical and psychological violence; intended and not intended; and with or without objects. People not only make sense of the violence that was inflicted on them, but they also understand that there is a purpose behind violence where they were either victims or perpetrators, or both. Tilly (2003) argues that the politics of collective violence are often similar in different cases, and as one of its forms, collective violence defines coordinated destruction, which wipes out any traces of the existence of the targeted group. Targeted violence by different means will destroy both physical and social relational elements of the community but it will also prompt the members, especially those who shared their daily lives, to try and understand its motivations.

The anthropology of violence holds that violence should be understood and given meaning through observing people's experiences, rather than through operationalization and its causes. Anthropologists have worked in the circumstances of war and violence and have produced ethnographic accounts that mainly reflect people's experiences, largely drawing on the work of Ellaine Scarry (1985). She proposed understanding the experience of violence of physical bodies and pain through metaphors of "making" and "unmaking the world", used to analyse how people understand the destruction of their world (Bringa 1995; Feldman 1991; Green 1999; Macek 2009; Nordstrom and Robben 1995; Nordstrom 1997a, 1997b; Scarry 1985; Scheper-Hughes 1992; Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004)³¹. Kolind (2008) uses the metaphor of 'unmaking the world' through violence to explain the impact that violence had on the Muslim residents of Stolac and the town community. Many anthropological studies have also addressed the political causes of violent conflict (Das 1990; Richards 1996; Spencer 1990, 2000). However, Shorder and Smith (2001) criticise privileging 'experience' as the most authentic form of knowledge when it comes to violence. They argue that apart from personal and collective embodiment of violence at the societal level, an analytical approach is equally important because violence "... produces tangible results ranging from dead bodies to the redistribution of space, the relocation of people or the occupation of a new territory" (2001:8), a logic that I follow in this study.

It frames my explanations of how the experience of violence is narrated; how it is embedded in the post-war community and social memories; and how it is interpreted at individual and collective levels. I argue that one reason people want to talk about violence is that they need to make sense of why they were targeted. Malkki (2004) proposes that when victims of violence recall an atrocity, they will need to think about how they "... come to assume thematic form, how they become formulaic." Declich (2001) for example shows how memories of war violence in Somalia are reproduced through narrative and in this way are added to the

³¹ Also Malkki (1995, 2004) and Lubkemann (2005, 2008), who explored links between violence and migration in Burundi and Mozambique

symbolic capital of the group. Macek (2001) shows how, for people who experienced the siege in Sarajevo, narrating their experiences changes their understanding of the events. Another reason as to why people want to make sense of their experience of violence is because the perpetrators came from the immediate circles in which they lived for years, decades or generations in most cases. Personal violence in closely knit societies such as BiH was often ‘inflicted by neighbours upon neighbours’ (Sorabji 2006) and it resulted in the disruption of intimate bonds that held people together. This study focuses on the forms of violence that were narrated as having the strongest impact by interviewees, who distinguished between three distinct forms of war violence: personal experience of violence, which is physical (detention, torture, sexual violence) or lethal; material destruction and forced displacement. This study argues that magnitude of violence, human and material, in the BiH war resulted in the loss of many communities, everything they owned and had known, and the trauma related to this fragmentation and destruction.

2.4. Methodological Framework

“...I tried to listen to the people as closely as I could...” (Watanabe 1992: xi).

This study focuses on post-war community formation and dynamics in a real-life context, observing period from the end of the war in 1995 to the present day. My research started by investigating what motivates day-to-day interactions between members of different ethnic groups in a peaceful manner, despite the formal ethnic polarization and segregation that was introduced by the DAP. This interest was driven by my personal observation that in BiH, people operate outside this rigid organizational framework of ethnic fragmentation that has been imposed on the country as a result of the war. After completing one year of fieldwork in the two towns, this study evolved into understanding how people, through interactions, build their post-war communities and how the experience of violence becomes embedded in this process. In the section below, I outline the methodological

approach of the study and the logic behind it, ethical considerations for conducting research in places affected by violence and my positionality with regard to conducting research 'at home'.

The data collection was divided in three phases. The first phase in 2011 entailed a study trip to Sarajevo, where I conducted interviews with the representatives of international organisations including UNICEF, European Commission Delegation, UNDP, the British Council, and the BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees. The goal of these interviews was assist me with the selection of research sites, by scoping overall conditions in different municipalities where these organisations had projects. Upon returning to my residence at IDS I finalized the study design and applied for the Leverhulme Research Grant with my supervisor, Patricia Justino. Our project proposal, on which I planned to work as a full-time PhD Researcher, was based on my PhD study outline and incorporated a quantitative component in addition to the qualitative approach that I had already prepared for my PhD research. A year later, in July 2012, we were informed that our application had been successful, providing funding for my University fees, fieldwork and monthly salary.

In the next phase, from January to December 2012, I selected the two research locations and conducted the fieldwork. To be able to investigate the complexity of factors that, in my view, will have an impact on post-war community dynamics required in-depth analysis of the context influencing the researched phenomena (Yin 2003). I decided upon two case studies, as I was driven by my observation that some places in BiH reported protracted post-war violence apparently between local ethnic groups, while in others this wasn't the case. This I took as indication of variation in the nature of post-war communities that remained ethnically diverse across BiH. I used the absence of peaceful interactions as an indicator of the absence of post-war communal tissue.

Despite having elements of observation and participation that are typical of ethnographic fieldwork, this study used mixed methods for data collection. My study, though, is not ethnography as its limited duration robbed it of a long-term emersion in the field and for this it is lacking what Geertz (1973) refers to as 'thick description', at least in some of its segments. This is particularly true for the second fieldwork location, Kotor Varoš, and this is why it is perhaps more accurate to refer to it as a 'sociological version of ethnography' (Amit 2000). For this reason I refer to the two places as two case studies rather than multi-sited ethnography (Falzon 2009) as another anthropologist may have used to describe it. The idea behind using case studies, which entails both qualitative and quantitative approaches, is to obtain rich information that can explain the differences between the two post-war communities and to think about wider implications of this question. They are concerned with the examination of the cases studies, providing conceptual validity and the possibility of comparison, and contributing to specific theory development (George and Bennett 2005). Yin (2003) argues that single and multiple-case studies are two variants of the case study design. In my study, through the process of conducting the research, what initially started off as the towns providing certain contexts for studying interactions, resulted in the two places becoming subjects of the research.

My research design entailed a combination of qualitative approaches that employed semi-structured individual and group interviews, life stories and focus groups and they were all driven by a concern that, because I am researching in places that were affected by violence, I may not obtain sufficient data by using only one methodological approach. Mixed methods approach attracted broad criticism in recent years (Creswell, 2013), which I would like to acknowledge, but I believe it is necessary for study of such a complex topic. My study focuses on the ordinary, quotidian life of people and for this reason my presence in the locations was necessary. My research plan entailed interviewing individuals, representatives of local institutions and conducting group interviews, which I scheduled for the start of the data collection so that I would become familiarised with the context but also to allow the field to steer the direction of the study.

Exposure to war violence was part of the selection criteria of the two case studies, but I didn't have specific questions about war and violence and in this sense information on this topic is framed entirely from the bottom up, using Grounded Theory (Corbin et al. 2008; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 2015). This helped me to identify concepts and themes emerging from the data. In the process I developed questions to guide the analysis such as: How did participants talk about the experience of violence during the war? What type of a story about war violence does a particular group in the community tell and where in the interviews does information about these experiences emerge? How do people connect specific forms of violence to their post-war life? Because the stories of the experience of violence emerged so strongly in the interviews and life histories, becoming central to the narratives of the two places, in order to corroborate the same facts from a larger group, this study used data triangulation (Patton 2002; Yin 2003). I developed a survey in which the questions were constructed to elucidate in-depth evidence and gather more robust confirmation of the accounts of the violence that were narrated in the primary data. The survey had three sections asking about material destruction of the interviewee's house (14 questions), one section about forced displacement (15 questions) and one section about experiencing personal violence during the war (12 questions).

After completing primary data collection in December 2012 during which I lived for nine months in the two communities, I returned to IDS to conduct primary data analysis using the community model with five basic elements: interactions, sentiment, norms, activities and space, around which I coded my data. What I didn't plan for in the original research design was the story of violence that strongly emerged in the primary data. Through the Thematic Analysis (Bamberg 1997, 2007; Josselson and Lieblich 1999) of the data I identified the following sub-themes related to interviewees' references to violence: experience of forced displacement (I marked all expressions used in the local languages to describe it); different forms of physical violence; material destruction of private properties; and communal material culture. I also accounted for reports of lethal violence, whether

someone in the family was killed or not, or if a family member was missing. I used this narrative analysis to focus on the flow of the war events reported in the life stories and based the analysis on two approaches: *life as lived* and *life as told* (Eastmond 2007: 249; Josselson and Lieblich 1999). I elucidated what were the implications of the interviewees' experience of the violence but also why were they telling me particular stories. All the interviews that featured mention of the experience of violence were grouped under specific themes, each representing one form of violence. From there, I was able to create a chronology of the violent events, to develop a story around the identities of the perpetrators and the victims and to draw conclusions about the differences between the two case studies.

2.4.1. Case Study Approach

My study design entailed selecting two communities that were ethnically diverse before the war and, if possible, with all three ethnic groups, Serbs, Croats and Muslims, in a similar ratio for two specific reasons. First, it would indicate that local residents were used to interactions in a diverse environment before the war. Second, this research focuses on post-war community formation after violence, and pre-war ethnic diversity is shown to have the higher incidence of war violence. Before the war both Kotor Varoš and Stolac were ethnically diverse³² and, as a result, experienced among the highest level of contestation and fighting, particularly in Stolac and southern Herzegovina. Therefore, I started the selection process with these maps of violence that were developed from ACLED database³³ and checked other sources as well. With such criteria I was aiming to select communities with the following characteristics:

- Experience of lethal violence
- Forced displacement of population
- Material destruction of public and private properties
- Post-war violence

³² Based on the 1991 SFRY census data

³³ <http://www.acleddata.com> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

After the end of a war, violence is often inherent (Berdal and Suhrke 2011; Boyle 2014). As I explained earlier, this study is particularly interested in what the presence or absence of post-war violence tells us about communal dynamics. For this reason, I selected one case with a high rate of post-war violence and another where it was largely absent. This proved to be a very challenging task because there is no systematic data about this violence available. I used information from different reports of international agencies, interviewed representatives of international organizations engaged in peacebuilding and security in BiH since the end of the war, but I could not find any reliable records, despite their hands-on presence during the implementation of the DAP. The IPTF³⁴ mission, who was in charge of communal policing, security and logging all the incidents, was terminated on 31st December 2002. The mission did not pass the information and data onto their successor, EUPM, which took over on 1st January 2003 and also didn't maintain any official records. I tried to access information from EUFOR BiH with an equal lack of success. Nevertheless, the Office of High Representative of BiH monitoring reports and SFOR reports contain comprehensive information. The most consistent information came from employees of international and government agencies who worked in the two research sites and who had a good grasp of the local context. I used this information as final criteria in the selection process.

Once I had selected the two towns, the next important step was securing access to the research sites. During this preparation stage I came across Social Protection and Inclusion Programme (SPIS)³⁵ that UNICEF was implementing in ten municipalities in BiH, five in the Federation of BiH and five in Republic Srpska. Both Kotor Varoš and Stolac were covered by SPIS project and UNICEF agreed to help me with access to local organizations and provided initial contacts, on the account that I did not link myself to them in any way. This suited me, as I didn't

³⁴ <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmibh/mandate.html> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

³⁵ http://www.unicef.org/bih/protection_inclusion_8941.html (last accessed 11/03/2016)

want to be associated with UNICEF and jeopardise my independence as a researcher. UNICEF provided me with the contact details of local organizations and individuals that were engaged in their project. Most importantly, UNICEF conducted comprehensive situation analysis for each of the municipalities, which proved to be valuable data and information that I used as an entry point to the fieldwork.

The study engaged with a generation of people who were 18 years or older at the end of the war in 1995, which means they were old enough - and legally of an age - to make their own decisions about participating in life beyond their families, including work, marriage, education, choice of their place of residence and participation in public life. They were also old enough to have established bonds with their places of birth and residence and to have formed memories of those places. They grew up and lived in the socialist former Yugoslavia, which had been built for four decades since the WWII under the slogan of "*Bratstvo i Jedinstvo*"³⁶, an ideology of unification promoted by the Communist Party favouring strong social ties and networks through formal and informal institutions. In short, this meant that people were taking part in carefully managed and organised collective actions that were focused on the collective good. For example, from the end of WWII until 1990 it is estimated that over two million young Yugoslavians took part in "youth labour action"³⁷ (Popovic 2010) to collectively build infrastructure including cross-country railways, highways and many public buildings³⁸. Apart from an obvious goal to build infrastructure, these collective actions were planned to facilitate bonding, creating cross-cultural ties and connecting people from all parts of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY)³⁹. Popovic (2010), for example, reviews surveys of the youth labour actions' participants on their motivations for taking part in these projects between 1974 and 1981. Consistently, around 85% of the respondents said that building friendship with other young people, as well as 'Fraternity and Unity', was their main motivation to

³⁶ Fraternity and Unity

³⁷ Omladinska Radna Akcija (ORA)

³⁸ Both of my parents, who were born during WWII, participated in a number of these projects.

³⁹ It is not within the remit of this study to comment on the ideological motivations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to run collective programmes in this way.

participate. Apart from the security and military aspect, the Yugoslav People's Army system followed a similar logic. Men were conscripted at the age of 18 and would always serve in a place far away from their homes. These illustrations help us to understand the mind-set of the generations of people who grew up together in BiH and the former Yugoslavia and ended-up fighting in the last war. On the other hand, culture and history facilitated strong social ties and emotional bonds in the places of living, both private and public. People's sense of belonging and ownership was developed over the years through activities, engagement and participation in public life, creating strong and often poignant memories for many people. This research study takes this socio-cultural background as the key premise on which the post-war community was built.

2.4.2. Semi-Structured Interviews

I collected 116 formal interviews in the two communities, out of which 36 are life stories or oral histories and the remaining 80 are semi-structured interviews⁴⁰. Some information was collected through informal discussions, although they were always guided by the topic of my research. The interviews were always conducted in a local language, usually in people's homes or in public spaces. My intention was to talk to the pre-war population and the new settlers and once I got to know where they were located, I was able to structure my sample categories according to the different population criteria based on residence. This also meant that I partly avoided sample selection based on ethnic markers. There was a significant overlap in Stolac between the residence category and the ethnic category because the majority of the pre-war town population were Muslim and the majority of the new settlers are Croats. Even though it wasn't possible to entirely avoid ethnic categorization, in the analysis I focused on the population according to residence and social groups, such as family and neighbourhoods.

⁴⁰ List of the interviews is in Annex 7

Finally, to discuss territorial borders of the community and to link the space to the violence, I carried out several exercises with the interviewees. I used community mapping based on the work of Elisabeth Wood (2003) in El Salvador. I printed out maps of Stolac and Kotor Varoš and asked each individual interviewee to mark where their house was before the war and where they are living at present. I also asked them to mark how many times they had moved since their return to the town and to mark these multiple locations. This helped me understand where the territorial borders were and where specific groups were located. I used these markers to determine starting points for the household survey that I conducted later.

2.4.3. Survey

The survey is triangulation of findings from oral histories, semi-structured interviews and community mapping. It was used to crosscheck data and avoid possible biases. In order to ensure data validation I used both data and methodological triangulation (Bailey 2007; Gerring 2007). I surveyed 300 households, 150 in each community. The questionnaire design was based on primary data analysis and it was structured in a way to cross-examine information about: experience and memories of the wartime violence (1992-1995); experience and memories of the post-war violence (1996-2012); structural impact of the violence; implications of displacement, return and property reconstruction; and presence (or absence) of the following dimensions of community dynamics: neighbourhood cohesiveness and interactions, participation in local groups and elections. A mix of a random and intentional sample was selected for the purpose of the survey. The reason for the age selection is to have respondents who were 18 years or older in 1996, which means they were legally of age to make their own decisions on where to settle after the war. The survey was implemented by a research agency from Sarajevo 'Prism Research'. The addresses of starting points (10 in each community) and the number of interviews per sampling point were based on the number of households in the sampling point. The enumerators used the 'Random Walk Technique' to select households. In order to select an individual

in the household to be interviewed, the technique of random selection by 'Closest Birthday' was used. Because Stolac is the smaller town, all the households were counted in each starting point and the frequency of visits was calculated. In both communities a significant number of houses are empty because residents live abroad, so enumerators were instructed to knock on every door until they found a respondent. Response rate (successfully conducted interviews divided by all selected and contacted respondents during fieldwork) was 0.38. No incentives were given to the respondents. In this study and in my thesis I use descriptive statistics from the survey to highlight some of the points interviewees made in qualitative interviews and to triangulate findings.

Household Survey Sample (Author's Data 2013)

	STOLAC	KOTOR VAROŠ
Completed Questionnaires	150	151
Person who opened the door refused to take part in the survey	119	127
No answer	219	101
Total	488	379
Total number of households in town⁴¹	1,131	3,329
RR	30.74%	39.84%
RR1	55.76%	54.31%

The questionnaire was developed from primary data analysis of ethnographic and qualitative data. Each section or individual questions corresponds to a local narrative. People in both places talked a lot about change of population; they would often mention where they are from, usually with the specific name of the place and they would also mention their reason for settling in the town before the war. The survey is numerical confirmation of these narratives. When I translated the survey I used the term *mjesto (place)* as a translation for 'community' to reflect the qualitative data and how people referred to their community in their own

⁴¹ BiH Census 2013

words. The appropriate expression would be *zjednica* but during my fieldwork, or while I was living in BiH on the previous occasions, I never heard anyone using this expression in the context of the place in which they live. In addition, people would identify themselves according to the name of the town, as I will discuss later, or refer to their ethno-religious identity. This is why the community model based on Hillery's work is appropriate for this study.

2.4.4. The Research Sites

As each of the two case studies is located in one of the Entities: Republic Srpska and FBiH. This allowed for a comparative investigation of the implications of the different governance structures and political contexts for community formation. Stolac is located in Hercegovina-Neretva Canton and Kotor Varoš is located in Republic Srpska, which is not divided into Cantons. Federation of BiH, where the municipality of Stolac is located, is the larger of the two Entities, both in population size and in territory. Administratively, it is divided into 10 Cantons, two of which cover a large part of Herzegovina's geographical territory. Stolac is the main urban centre of the municipality of the same name, located in the southeast region of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the most eastern spot in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton. Before the war it had close to 7,000 inhabitants, while the municipality population was 18,861⁴². In the first post-war census in 2013⁴³, the town population was just over 5,000 people with 1,131 households and 1,527 dwellings. The total municipal population was 14,889. The town, the urban centre of the municipality, is the largest of the 27 settlements. The post-war municipal territory is 286 km² with 53% agricultural land (out of which 27.1% is significant for food production); 36% meadows and grassland; 1% orchards and 10% vineyards⁴⁴.

⁴² Census 1991.

⁴³ http://www.bhas.ba/obavjestenja/Preliminarni_rezultati_bos.pdf (last accessed 11/03/2016)

⁴⁴ Strategy of Economic Development of Stolac Municipality (2006)

Figure 3: Stolac (Author's photo 2012)



It was also one of the most important historical places in BiH and the former Yugoslavia owing to its rich cultural heritage. Stolac was on UNESCO's list of applicants for protected heritage sites. Adding to the complexity and richness of the heritage in the municipality are remains from the middle ages, *nekropola stećaka*, old tombstones that are most commonly associated with Bogumili⁴⁵ (Malcolm 2002). There were many buildings from the period of Austro-Hungarian rule, such as the local swimming pool and a public bath that naturally declined along the sloping terrain to make use of the fresh water resources. Most of these landmarks, destroyed during the war, were symbolic cornerstones of the community. Some are still standing as ruins and rubble, a distressing reminder of the recent war. Owing to this rich cultural heritage and the presence of many unique artefacts from various historical periods, the place has attracted the interest of many foreigners, individuals and organisations, bound by extensive

⁴⁵ Gnostic social-religious movement, originating from Bulgaria, that spread to Bosnia in the 12th century

effort and support into restoring destroyed and damaged sites of cultural and historical significance⁴⁶.

It is one of the many municipalities in BiH that was divided by the Inter Entity Boundary Line⁴⁷ in 1995, because it is located in one of the border areas that were subject to negotiations during the peace process. Under the present administrative boundaries, the new municipality of Stolac was allocated 51% of the pre-war territory and became part of the Federation of BiH, while the newly established municipality of Berkovići with 49% of the land is administratively part of Republic Srpska, to the east side of the town. Before the war, Berkovići used to be one of the 10 *mjesne zajednice* in Stolac municipality. Geographically, a vast amount of land was allocated to the new municipality of Berkovići, which is disproportionate to the number of inhabitants before the war (1,500) at less than 10% of the total municipal population. In the last census, the population of Berkovići municipality was recorded at 2,272 inhabitants.

Kotor Varoš is bigger than Stolac, in territory and population size. It is the urban, administrative and industrial centre of the municipality, less than 40 kilometres from Banja Luka. The geographical location on the main transit route between Banja Luka (regional road M-4) and Doboj make this municipality and the town geographically well-connected. The territory of the pre-war municipality experienced minor partition resulting from the provisions of the DAP. Part of the rural settlement Kruševo Brdo II *mjesne zajednica* has been administratively moved to Travnik Municipality⁴⁸, but this is an uninhabited area under grasslands and woodland in the very south of Kotor Varoš Municipality, about 40km from the town. The size of the municipal territory is 560 km² with 55.21% under woodland; 39.51% agricultural area (of which 27.1% is significant for food production);

⁴⁶ ARCH-Stolac: Reconstruction of Architectural Heritage in Stolac-SUPERVISION (PHARE 2009); Restoration, conservation, reconstruction and revitalisation of selected objects in Stolac-WORKS (PHARE 2009)

⁴⁷ Administrative border between the two Entities, Federation of BiH and Republic Srpska

⁴⁸ <http://www.fbihvlada.gov.ba/bosanski/zakoni/1998/zakoni/6%20h%20kons%20novi%20opci%20na.htm> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

0.65% are areas under water and 4.6% are urbanised areas or barren land⁴⁹. The population density of the Kotor Varoš Municipality is between 20-450 people/km² with people living in 10 *mjesne zajednice* and 42 urban and rural settlements. The town of Kotor Varoš existed as an urban area for a long time, which already in the first census in 1931 in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had 30.755 inhabitants in contrast to Stolac, which despite its rich cultural heritage was recorded as a small rural town at the time. In 1993, the municipality was housing 2,700 internally displaced persons; in 1996 this number rose to 4,600 but declined to 1,536 in 2001⁵⁰.

Figure 4: Kotor Varoš (Author's photo 2012)



2.4.5. The 'Two Wars': Locality and Key Differences

As a way of situating the two towns, in this section I provide a brief overview of the local war dynamics and highlight the main differences between the two places, particularly the repertoire of the violence used, which is likely to have an impact on post-war social relations (Lubkemann 2008; Wood 2008). Stolac was occupied by two different armies during the war. Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) forces first

⁴⁹ Kotor Varoš Socio-Economic Analysis Document (2009)

⁵⁰ Report: 'Comparative Analysis on Access to Rights and Displaced Persons', Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of BiH (2005)

occupied it in the spring of 1992. In the interviews this event is referred to as the 'Serbian occupation' but several respondents specified that the forces were in fact JNA⁵¹ who stayed in the town for two months only until they were pushed out by HOS⁵² and HVO⁵³ as part of a wider regional offensive by Croatian forces in the Neretva valley. During JNA occupation the death toll in Stolac was quite low with 11 deaths⁵⁴ in April and May 1992. This is consistent with accounts of the town residents at the time. Real atrocities in the town started with the occupation by the HVO/ HOS forces in June 1992. After the town was occupied, much of the Muslim men joined this army.

Following the escalation of the war between the Bosnian and Croatian sides at the national level, there was a split in the local army, which prompted Croat soldiers in HVO/HOS to turn against the Muslims overnight, who were all disarmed, arrested and taken to local prison camps in June 1993. Some of the prominent Muslims who were politically active (e.g. Fahruding Rizvanbegović) were arrested as early as April 1993. The same fate affected local men of army age who were not soldiers. This reduced the town population to women, children and the elderly, who were forcibly evicted from their homes two months later on 3rd and 4th August 1993 and by organized transport, military trucks and buses taken to nearby town of Buna. These events, which took place in August 1993, marked the end of local violence and, according to the few residents who stayed in the town for the rest of the war, the situation remained relatively peaceful until Serbian shelling in the summer of 1995. This shelling was short-lived and quickly ended with the signing of the DAP in November the same year⁵⁵. The total human loss (killed and missing persons in Stolac municipality between 1992 and 1995) was 188 (1% of the total pre-war population); by military status, 101 (53.72%) were killed or missing civilians and

⁵¹ See Annex

⁵² Hrvatske Odbornene Snage (Croatian Defence Forces)

⁵³ Hrvatsko Vijeće Odbrane (Croatian Defence Council)

⁵⁴ Research and Documentation Center in Sarajevo (2007) - each death has been checked across three sources. Tabeau and Bijak (2005) conducted a comprehensive crosscheck study of military and civilian deaths and proposed a figure that is close to that from RDC Sarajevo.

⁵⁵ Personal accounts of three interviewees who lived in the town at the time.

87 (46.28%) were soldiers⁵⁶. In contrast to usual patterns of violence, JNA reservists who occupied the town first did not orchestrate violence against the local Croat and Muslim residents, and they withdrew with almost no casualties. This is in stark contrast to the massive killings and deportation of the Muslim and Croat populations that were taking place in northern and eastern Bosnia at the same time, including Kotor Varoš. As several male interviewees suggested, it might be that the area was part of a political agreement between Croatian and Serbian leaders, who established the territorial front line so that there was no need for massive violence against the civilian population.

In Kotor Varoš, local war dynamics were quite different. The fighting, or 'war'⁵⁷, as local people call it, lasted only about six months, between June and November 1992. From the start, Serbian forces were against local Croat and Muslim armed groups, whose role was to defend the local population from the Serbian occupation. In the words of one interviewee: *'We were organised in small units and protecting the dignity of our people. If we didn't defend ourselves nobody would have stayed alive.'* (FG131212) The length of fighting, the death toll and the organisation of local units are the three crucial differences between the two towns, particularly for the male population of fighting age. The civilian and military death toll in Kotor Varoš was much higher than in Stolac and there is still one unresolved crime in Grabovica⁵⁸ village, where around 150 soldiers of the Bosnian Army were executed. They are still officially listed as missing persons and are considered dead by their relatives and friends. The total number of killed and missing persons in the municipality between 1992 and 1995 is 1,049 (roughly 2.91% of the total pre-war population) with the following breakdown: 225 are missing persons (21.45%) and 824 were killed (78.55%); 401 (38.23%) were killed or missing civilians and 648 (61.77%) were killed or missing soldiers. According to ethnic breakdown, 51.8% of the killed and missing were Muslim, 35.56% were Serbs, 12.68% were

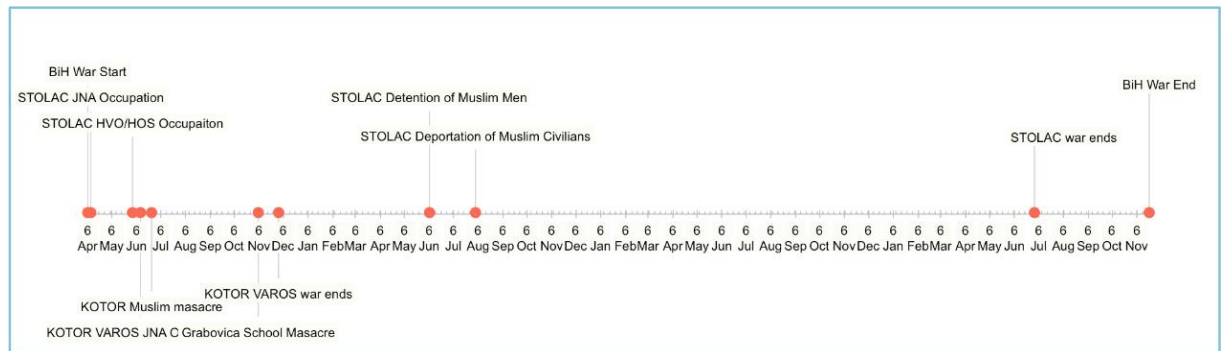
⁵⁶ Research and Documentation Center in Sarajevo (2007) - each death has been checked across three sources. Tabeau and Bijak (2005) conducted a comprehensive crosscheck study of military and civilian deaths and proposed a figure that is close to that from RDC Sarajevo.

⁵⁷ In the interviews they refer to it as 'war in Kotor Varoš.'

⁵⁸ <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/mladic-s-trial-witness-says-individuals-should-have-been-shot> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

Croats and 0.29% others.⁵⁹ The graph below shows a linear chronology of the war events constructed from the empirical data, other studies and reports. More comprehensive accounts of the war dynamics in each of the two places can be found in Annex 3.

Figure 5: Timeline – war violence 1992-1995 in Stolac and Kotor Varoš



In both towns violence took many forms. Armed groups occupying the towns used what Wood (2008) calls a ‘repertoire of violence’ including killings, abduction, imprisonment, torture, sexual violence, material destruction and forced displacement. A personal experience of violence is not confined to those who have been directly attacked; it also affected those who witnessed the terrible acts of brutality have also been personally inflicted. For instance one interviewee reported seeing an old woman, aged around 90, being shot in front of a group of Muslim residents, who were taken by force from their houses. In Kotor Varoš people witnessed the killing of their neighbours and friends during a violent rampage by Red Berets in June 1992. Imprisoned women spent nights watching some amongst them being selected and taken away by prison guards to be raped during the night⁶⁰. In Stolac, a large proportion of the male population aged between 16 and 65 was taken to the prison camps of Dretelj, Gabela and Heliodrom, where they suffered or witnessed daily torture, including beatings,

⁵⁹ Same source as in the previous footnote.

⁶⁰ Personal interviews

starvation and disease, spending extremely hot summer months in inhumane conditions⁶¹.

Material destruction was significantly higher in Stolac, particularly for public landmarks. Unlike Kotor Varoš, Stolac was under siege and under constant shelling by Serbian forces until 1993, during which time most of the material destruction occurred until more shelling briefly took place in the summer of 1995. Most probably, the Serbian forces had no knowledge of which houses in the town belonged to Serbs or others, hence they shelled all the buildings indiscriminately. Kotor Varoš, as a town, did not meet the same fate: most of the public spaces and landmarks were left undamaged except for the local mosques, Catholic Church and 'Stara Čaršija', an old Ottoman market place in the centre of the town. Muslim houses were destroyed in Kotor and Donja Varoš, as well as settlements adjacent to the town. When it comes to private properties, the damage was similar in both towns because the houses of the evicted population were systematically looted, burned or destroyed using explosives in both places. The table below presents official figures for the destroyed and damaged dwellings in the two communities. It is important to emphasise that in Kotor Varoš the majority of these dwellings were not located in the town.

Table 1: Destroyed Housing Units⁶²

MUNICIPALITY	NO. OF DWELLINGS BEFORE THE WAR	NUMBER OF DESTROYED AND DAMAGED HOUSING UNITS				
		Up to 20%	20-70%	Above 70%	Total	%
Stolac	4,324	905	2,206	403	3,514	85.90
Kotor Varoš	9,388	65	3,794	602	4,461	47.52

⁶¹ Personal interviews, media sources and records from the ICTY proceedings

⁶² Source: Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of BiH (2010)

Besides material destruction and physical violence, the local population in both places was forcibly displaced in significant numbers. In Stolac, it was the local Muslim population who were forced out of their houses, collectively, over two days in August 1993. In Kotor Varoš, it was also the local Muslim as well as Croat population that were evicted by Serbian forces, although this process was gradual over a six month period while the local war lasted. The last wave of the forced displacement happened at the beginning of November 1992 in the villages of Vrbanjci and Večići, the last stronghold of the local resistance. 'Ethnic cleansing' is a term that has been used frequently in the literature to describe events in the BiH war (Cox 1998; Hayden 1996), asserting that places were cleansed of Muslims, Croats or Serbs. Here, I would like to draw attention to the local forced displacement dynamics, which shows that not all the residents were targeted or evicted in an identical way, or even at all. In Stolac, the local Serbian population was not evicted at the time when the Muslims were forced out in August 1993 and they were allowed to continue living in the town until the end of the war. In Kotor Varoš more than 1,000 Croats initially stayed in the town throughout the war, unlike the other 9,000 Croats who were forced out between June and November 1992. However, they were forced to leave in the summer of 1995 after operation 'Storm' in Croatia, when large numbers of Serbian refugees from northern Bosnia and Krajina started arriving in the town⁶³. They all embarked on journeys as displaced people, sometimes alone or in groups that took them away from everything they knew.

War-related displacement and migration, as well as personal violence, changed the ethno-religious structure of both Stolac and Kotor Varoš. Based on the accounts of the war events that I was able to construct, the majority of the Croat and Muslim population were forcibly displaced from Kotor Varoš, and the same fate applied to Muslims in Stolac. The latest population data from the 2013 census is now accessible, but not for the ethno-national structure of the population. However, according to unofficial statistics⁶⁴, in Stolac around 4,000 who declared themselves

⁶³ Personal interview with Croat war-time representative, a man who negotiated their safe departure from the town in 1995.

⁶⁴ <http://www.statistika.ba> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

as Croats have become residents in the municipality since the end of the war in 1995, while around 2,500 Muslims and 1,700 Serbs did not return, which means that the Croat population in Stolac increased significantly. In my discussions with pre-war Muslim residents in Stolac, they would often maintain that this was the main purpose of the war, affirming that there were almost no Croats in the town before 1991. In Kotor Varoš, the Serbian population increased by 30% or 4,000 people in comparison to the pre-war numbers. The Croat population declined dramatically from over 10,000 before the war to only 300 (280 - 330 permanent residents) in the entire municipality, where they now constitute only 2.8% of the total population, while the Muslim population stands at around 3,200. The violence left the two towns and their populations devastated and deeply traumatized. All these forms of violence had the ability ‘...to unmake or undo – to hyperactively disorder, disorganize, and destabilize...’ (Lubkemann 2008: 11). As Bevan (2006:15) writes “In part, we recognize our place in the world by an interaction with a built environment and by remembering these experiences and by being informed of the experiences of others: the creation of social identity located in time in place.”

Conducting research on violence requires very precise understanding of the categories of enquiry because of the sensitivity of the topic. In interpreting accounts of the violent events, a researcher needs to respect the victims who make the effort to provide accurate accounts. Owing to the deeply disturbing nature and power of the violence, as researchers we need to make an effort to refrain from shaping what we learn into our analytical categories. In this study, I have used data and sources triangulation establish nature and dynamics of violence in the two towns, as I wanted to make sure that I understood them correctly, as well as the reasons why my interviewees presented specific events and experiences in a particular way.

2.4.6. Mother, Researcher And Conducting Research At 'Home'

BiH is not my home, but I was born and grew up in the former Yugoslavia. This is important because my positionality as a 'semi-home' researcher affected how I was perceived in the field and potentially how some of my thinking shaped my research and fieldwork experience. This research focuses on two communities but I didn't feel disconnected or isolated in a way that, particularly in anthropology, remote fieldwork can affect a researcher. If anything, I felt quite the opposite, as I became deeply connected to the issues that motivated my study, most of which I observed superficially or remotely during my previous stays in BiH. This opened a path for a deeper understanding of the research topic. This resonates with recent debates in anthropology (ref) that opened up a space for taking approaches and developing concepts of fieldwork that more aptly reflect the current state of the globalised world.

In the spring of 2012 I moved to the town of Stolac in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with my daughter, who was four at the time. My arrival in Stolac was arranged through a personal connection. While I was staying in Sarajevo, I started looking for people from Stolac and Kotor Varoš for initial interviews. My first interviewee told me that her friend had a flat that I could perhaps rent. I knew Stolac was badly damaged by the war and because I was going there with my very young daughter, I was concerned about the type of accommodation that we could get and about security to some extent, so this was a welcome development. The way I entered my field, not only as a researcher but also as a woman and a mother, determined my position in the community, how local people viewed me and who engaged with me. From the perspective of ethnographic fieldwork, this considerably blurred the boundaries between being an observer and a participant. In addition, as I was a single mother, this inevitably had some implications for how people perceived me, particularly in an environment with traditional norms and values. For this reason, I decided to simply say that the father of my daughter was in Sarajevo and I never corrected my interviewees or friends when they assumed that I was married. As they were getting to know me, the most common question

would be “What is your husband doing?” without judging the status of us being apart and me conducting fieldwork with my daughter. There was only one situation in Kotor Varoš when a woman I interviewed criticized my work and the fact that I was leaving my ‘husband’ and daughter behind. She expressed that I should give up my PhD and go back home to look after them. Nevertheless, the fact that I was a mother had a positive impact on my fieldwork because I was accepted as a new member of the community, and not necessarily as a researcher. In BiH people love children and being with my daughter opened many doors that would have, perhaps, stayed closed.

Even if one has some idea about a place, it is difficult to decide where to start meaningful familiarisation with it. At first, it was an odd encounter because it was raining non-stop, which is unusual for Herzegovina and for that time of the year, too. Coming from England, we did not mind the rain and went for a walk every day, but the town was completely empty: there was not a single person in the street. I couldn’t help but think that my experience as a researcher was similar to that of the new settlers arriving to a place they didn’t know at all. During the interview process I recognised some of my own experiences in their responses. Arriving to a place as a complete stranger poses many challenges, particularly how one will be perceived by the people who live there. This defines interactions with the new environment, understanding of it and whether researcher represents a different social world defined by the boundaries of unfamiliarity. Much of my life in Stolac revolved around ordinary, mundane issues such as shopping or going to the local playground, taking daily walks around the town and spontaneously chatting to people in the street, but this allowed me to observe local life from a close distance and participate in some of the day-to-day activities. It is because I was there with my daughter that dynamics of my interactions with people extended beyond the research sphere. I think it also had a selective effect on my encounters, because I mainly interacted with women. First, I worked with a local NGO called ‘Orchid’⁶⁵ that runs programmes mainly for women. One of the women agreed to look after my daughter with her own three children while I was conducting interviews in her

⁶⁵ <http://orhideja.org/wordpress/>

house. Every evening she would take her own children to the local playground, the central socializing place where women and children would gather.

I didn't have the same experience in Kotor Varoš, where I moved in September 2012. Upon my arrival to the town, I couldn't find accommodation. Winter was approaching, it was already becoming cold in northern Bosnia and in the whole town there was no furnished residence with heating available for rent. In the end, I had to rent an apartment in nearby Banja Luka and drive to Kotor Varoš to interview people. I made an effort to replicate my interviewing pattern from Stolac as much as possible, which allowed me to collect information about Kotor Varoš that was similar in quantity and quality. However I did not get the opportunity to observe life in the same way as I did in Stolac. This was rectified to a certain extent when I returned for secondary data collection in April 2013, when I stayed with a local family in Kotor Varoš. However, I returned without my daughter and overall I was lacking the deep and personal encounters with people that I had experienced in Stolac. This will be reflected in my data analysis in Chapter Four, where I was careful to emphasize the limitations of contextualizing the two places. With ethnographic fieldwork, my biggest concern was establishing good relations with research participants on the one hand and gaining access to information on the other. At the same time, I was trying to keep disturbance in the communities to a minimum, particularly in areas where I learned people had personally experienced violence. I made an effort, in Malkki's (1995) words "... to demonstrate my trustworthiness by not praying where I was not wanted" (Malkki 1995: 47). In situations where an interviewee would start crying I would stop the interview. If they were reluctant to participate in the interview I would use humour and patience to explain in detail what the research was about. Above all, I always made sure never to disclose personal information and to explain to the interviewees that what they share will be confidential.

2.4.7. Positionality Of The Researcher

The final question that is relevant for framing my study is who am I in this story? As mentioned in the previous section, I don't have familial ties with BiH but I do have strong personal and professional connections. I was living in the country between 2004 and 2007, managing a large European Commission funded project for the BBC Media Action where I worked at the time. I was deployed from London to manage this project to Sarajevo, which I last time visited in 1991. I lived in Serbia during the Balkan wars and I was politically active as an opponent of the nationalist regime of Slobodan Milošević, and everything it represented. I also worked for or was active in local NGOs, peace movements and independent media. I was co-founder of the Charity Association 'Panonia' in Novi Sad in 1993 and the NGO 'House of Tolerance' in Belgrade in 1997. Later, after the fall of Milošević, when I was already residing in the UK, I helped to establish the EXIT Festival in Novi Sad, which was the first grass root platform in the Balkans that helped to build bridges between the youth of the Former Yugoslav republics and has today become one of the most successful music events in Europe. My long-term activism was my main motivation to do this PhD but it also framed my questions and approaches. I have seen a lot of suffering, loss and trauma among those affected by the war. For example, I reported on the refugee crisis and displacement from Croatia as a result of operation 'Storm' in 1995 for Human Rights Watch (HRW). I also lived through the NATO bombing campaign of Serbia for 78 days in 1999.

I am half Hungarian, half mixed Serb, Romanian and Montenegrin, typical for the region of Vojvodina where I was born. My father and his entire family were Hungarian. My maternal grandfather was from an old Serb family, for which I have a family tree starting in 1756, while my maternal grandmother was of a mixed ethnic background but a strong family heritage of practising the Serbian Orthodox religion. As I was mainly raised by my grandmother, my knowledge of religion is that of Serbian Orthodox, influenced by my upbringing, the children's song she used to teach me and occasional visits to the church. However, ironically, I am a baptised Catholic as most Hungarians in Vojvodina are. I am not a religious person at all. I did not support the rise of religious nationalism in Serbia, quite the opposite. The father of my daughter is from BiH, of mixed ethnic background –

Muslim and Croat. My daughter Tisa, who is named after the river *Tisa* in Vojvodina where my mother grew up, was born in London, but by her family origin she is part Bosnian, part Serbian with equal mix of Muslim, Croat and Hungarian blood. She is eight years old now and says she is English. Her BiH family stayed in Sarajevo during the siege; they shared their experience with me and this has also informed my research and analytical approaches. We spent extended periods of time in Sarajevo between 2009 and the end of my data collection in 2013, where she also joined me for the fieldwork. My thesis is informed not only by the data I collected during 18 months of fieldwork but also the information, knowledge and insights that I have gained from my on and off residence in the country between 2004 and 2013 and through many personal connections that I have there.

3. Memories and Experience of Violence: Narrating Community Loss

The closeness of communal ties is experienced in Buffalo Creek as a part of the natural order of things, and residents no more describe that presence than fish are aware of the water they swim in.

Erikson (1976:187)

3.1. Introduction

My data collection took place 17 years after the Bosnian war ended. At the start of my fieldwork in Stolac, my first interviewees were pleased to hear that I had not come to research the war, but rather to ask and write about their post-war lives. I got the impression that they were worn out by revisiting their war experiences, answering the questions of numerous researchers who had visited the town over the years. As one respondent noted: *"I don't know, things have calmed down. Both sides [... local Muslims and Croats...] have simply got tired of everything. We have started living more normal lives and people simply don't want to talk about it anymore."* (ST200612) Perpetrators of violence are even less likely to want to discuss it, and in a rare occasion I heard from one of them: *'I am not interested in*

talking about some past events and something that was finished a long time ago.⁶⁶ As the focus of my research is on the post-war lives of the communities, it was easy to accommodate the wishes of my interviewees, who anyhow seemed to be preoccupied with their present-day problems. People in Kotor Varoš had a different take on my research, primarily because they had not been the subject of as much interest as the town of Stolac from researchers and academics. The victims of the war violence welcomed my research because they felt their voice has not been heard, and they often shared their grief about what they perceive as unjustly forgotten crimes. One interviewee commented on this: *'Srebrenica is being talked about, but not this place (Kotor Varoš) and so many people here were shot dead in the war.'* (KV030513).

Approaching people without direct questions about the violence proved to be beneficial research strategy as they were more relaxed and open to talking. However, even if their intention to not talk about the violence was genuine, once I started formal interviews and getting to know people through daily interactions, war stories and personal accounts of the experience of war violence increasingly started to emerge. It soon became apparent in Stolac and later in Kotor Varoš that, according to the interviewees, understanding the experience of the violence and its impact is indispensable for understanding post-war social relations. Linda Green (1999) shares very similar experiences of working with Mayan widows in northern Guatemala, where, although her topic of research was not initially violence, it quickly became the central focus of the widows' narratives. In my case, too, this is how violence came to be more than just a background to this study (Green 1999) and became one of the main points of enquiry. Sharing their memories without being asked, the interviewees showed that the experience of violence ensnared post-war life in many ways and still had a powerful influence over people's behaviour, even as it was hidden from the eyes of outsiders. As Sorabji (2006:1) notes "[i]t makes intuitive sense that people's memories of traumatic events... continue to affect the social fabric in some perhaps intangible

⁶⁶ From an informal discussion with a perpetrator of violence: a local man who committed violence against the local population as a soldier. But he is also known to have extended a welcoming hand after the war. I only interviewed two people who admitted to perpetrating violence during the war.

but nevertheless important way.”

For me, personally, as a researcher, data collection was a trigger for reminiscence. I remembered how the war started in former Yugoslavia with the first conflict in Croatia in 1991, ravaging towns and villages in the Eastern part of the country. In this first year of the war, Vojvodina⁶⁷, where I come from, paid the heaviest toll, losing thousands of young men and reservists who were conscripted to fight in Croatia under the pretext of defending the unity of Yugoslavia. The town of Vukovar was “captured” on 18th November 1991 by JNA as a result of several months of heavy fighting, but it was actually demolished to the ground. Its brutal destruction signalled what was likely to come as the war spread to other territories of the former Yugoslavia.⁶⁸ To some, it may have been obvious that the bloodshed would be severe. As one interviewee from Kotor Varoš commented:

I was fighting in Vukovar as JNA soldier, but it wasn't called JNA anymore but just Yugoslav Army (JA). And I was awarded an extra weekend's leave to spend in Kotor Varoš [...at home...] and I never went back. Because one of the officers from that Serbian army told me: 'I can't bear to watch you children⁶⁹ dying; my advice to you is to go to Bosnia and never return here.' He even gave me some money, he felt sorry for me. 'You are young, go and hide, run away. Just don't come back here.' That's what I am saying: he was a normal person, a sergeant. After that, they even sent the police to arrest me because I was supposed to go back, but I never did.” (UOPSTKV131212)

This chapter analyses how people recount their experience of violence and how these stories, told or untold, merge into a nexus of narratives, as a way of not only describing the experiences but also connecting them to the present day life. In so doing, it will differentiate between individual and collective narratives of the violence and how the two, sometimes different views, get reconciled. Personal accounts of violence are often buried under collective narratives of the same events, framed under the ‘victimhood’ umbrella and where individual accounts that differ from the collective story are not welcome. Individual community

⁶⁷ One of the two Autonomous Provinces of the Former Yugoslav Socialist Republic of Serbia (the other was Kosovo).

⁶⁸ Personal memory

⁶⁹ Conscription age in BiH and Former Yugoslavia was 18.

members don't feel comfortable offering positive accounts of events that happened to them personally, e.g. if someone helped them or protected them from violence (Selimovic 2010). The reason for this is to move away from what Lubkemann (2008:186) calls a 'master political narrative' that often differs a lot from the local-level events. The narratives form the basis for understanding community loss, which people linked to different forms of local violence: those that affected the place and those that affected people directly. I understand the loss of community as a loss of materiality, people, and their behaviours as a 'general human surround' (Erikson 1976: 186). The second objective of this chapter is to discuss whether, if a community is lost, the sense of community disappears as well. The academic literature on the topic suggests that profound traumatic experiences actually lead to a strengthened sense of community (McMillan and Chavis 1986) and sense of belonging to a community (Bruhn 2009b). I argue that the preserved sense of community acts as a cohesive point for the pre-war community members and as a motivating factor for building the post-war community in the same space.

The first part of the chapter discusses the interviewee's experience of violence, their opinions about how the war started and how they managed their lives in the circumstances of the forthcoming war. Many people did not believe the war would come to them and as a result failed to protect themselves and their families. They were deeply embedded in their communities with kinship and social networks, economic stability and security, and were also expected to be protected from violence by their friends and neighbours, with whom they had shared everyday life for many years. Community loss is not only the result of violence inflicted on community members but also results from the fragmentation or breakdown of the social relations that can create 'moral distances' (Park, 1925:40 quoted in Choen, 1985). The second section continues by discussing the impact of lethal violence and the significance attributed to survival, which shapes post-war life. The third relates memories of the pre-war communities, where people talk about which aspects of the pre-war community had been lost. The last section discusses imagined memories of the alleged post-war destruction of the houses in Stolac. Drawing on Portelli's work (1991) and Wood (2003) I compare collective accounts

of these violent events told by people who were not actually there to witness them with the accounts of those who were living in the town at the time.

3.2. Memories Of Violence In Daily Life

Soon after arriving in Stolac I started working with a group of women who were, formally or informally, members of a local NGO. Some of them had short-term paid jobs at the NGO when there were small projects, mainly cooking or doing agricultural work. The others simply attended activities or came for socialising, which is the most beneficial aspect of this NGO. I conducted weekly group interviews where we discussed their everyday lives and I asked the group members to identify the most challenging issues they faced. They were an ethnically mixed group of nine women, some from Stolac town, some from surrounding villages and some from elsewhere in BiH; they were all displaced from their homes during the war and returned soon after it ended. Their ages ranged from 35 to 65. Demographically this group was a good representation of the town's population and it gave me a clearer picture of the structure of the population, a combination of locals, returnees, IDPs and new settlers, before I had an opportunity to explore it later in the fieldwork. What most of them had in common is that they were unemployed and lived with little to no income. Most of them live alone with their children, either because they are widows or because their husbands are working abroad. The husband of one woman is a worker in Croatia and comes home every few weekends, while another's husband is a shepherd and lives and works in the tiny village in which they were born. Several of the women share a household with their elderly in-laws or are responsible for their care.

The group interviews were conducted with a condition that we did not talk about the events of the war, but it came up in the conversation very soon. One by one, the women were introducing themselves and telling their life stories, and each story was about how the war had touched their lives. First shared a story of how her

husband was killed in the war: the official account states that he died while on duty as an electrician, but she says he was arrested (on 30 June 1992) and killed. Because she had left the town ten days earlier, she didn't witness this event, only receiving the information that he had died. A widow with three children to raise on her own, she was nonetheless fortunate to have the help of her father in law, with whom she lived in the same household. Another woman, who joined the group interviews starting from the second meeting, was seriously wounded during the shelling of Mostar and she is now an invalid, with one of her arms immobile. Only after the women shared their experience of violence did the conversation move on to the challenges of post-war life, but they would often and easily slip back into discussions of this experience.

For these women, family and their marriage was the most important aspect of daily life. I was interested in whether they had weddings, as an opportunity for socialising, which is one of the elements of community. One the women who got married immediately after the war in 1996 had a wedding party. While we were discussing her wedding and local cultural practices, an older woman joined in the conversation with a detailed account of how she had prepared her daughter's wedding in 1994, but the story suddenly shifted to their experience of the violence. The older of the two women continued telling her story about her experience of forced displacement from Travnik, recollecting how she and the other evicted residents spent six days and six nights out in the open air. She says: *"Listen to this. We [... Croats...] were expelled from Travnik by Muslims and we came here to Stolac, where Muslims were expelled by Croats."* But the younger woman interrupted her: *"We said we are not going to talk about the war."* Over the coming months some of these women became close friends; they started looking after my daughter and would invite me into their homes for meals, or to go for walks or trips together to the local playground, so I learned much more about their day-to-day personal lives. This pattern of voluntarily discussing violence continued throughout the fieldwork, which prompted me to think about how these memories are linked to their present day lives. In the next sections I discuss how people reported their experience of the violence and how they tried to make sense of it.

3.3. Making Sense Of Experience: Violence Doesn't Happen To 'Good People'

For the data collection, I would always follow the same pattern of questions, which started by asking about their personal life, post-war, life in the town, local interactions, spatial and social boundaries, and post-war violence, but very often discussions and interviews, particularly with men, revolved around why and how the war started. Some assumed I was uninformed and didn't understand anything about the war, so they felt compelled to offer an explanation. This seldom happened when interviewing women, who would talk more about ordinary life issues such as repairing houses, their livelihoods and would generally answer my questions about ordinary life in more detail. The conversations about the war revolved around causes of the war, how fast it spread and in such an organised manner that it was difficult to not assume that it had been prepared for a long time. A statement of one interviewee encapsulates this aptly: *'The war was being prepared for since 1945, since WWII ended.'* (KV091112) Some interviewees maintained that only those who had lived through the experience of the war were able to understand it, along the line of Nordstrom's (1997) argument. As one interviewee told me, *"Anyone who hasn't been in that Bosnian stock pot, where you go to sleep in the dark because there is no electricity and you wake up happy only because you are alive, doesn't understand what we've been through. You never knew what the morning could bring."* (KV091112) Nordstrom (1997) also talks about "warzone culture" which is created through violence and argues that the experience of war violence overwrite previous cultural differences. This is something I encountered as part of this research study, where the field was divided between 'us' who experienced violence and 'them' (including the researcher) who didn't and will not be able to have a proper understanding of it.

Most of the people I interviewed have a clear memory of how the war started. Despite the fact that in 1991 the war was happening only a few hundred

kilometres from Stolac and Kotor Varoš, people found it difficult to believe that it would come to them. Maček (2001:199) found the same sentiments were expressed by her interviewees in Sarajevo. This says much about BiH society's self-perception, which was unprepared to consider the possible collapse of their social order. As a consequence, many of them failed to take steps to ensure basic security for themselves and their families, or to remove themselves from a potentially life-threatening situation. Even when they witnessed armed people in military uniforms, or watched the burning of houses in the distance, not far from their own homes, they still believed the violence would somehow bypass them. They had faith in being 'good people' and they believed that 'bad things' on the scale of the brutality experienced in the BiH war would not happen to them. Furthermore, they did not expect hostility or violence from persons with whom they had some degree of "prior social familiarity" (Appadurai 1998), which is typical of tightly-knit ethnic communities that suddenly experience violence. This closeness is what prevented them from realistically assessing the potential danger:

'We were uninformed. We were out of touch; we didn't know what was going to happen. [...If we did...] perhaps we would have gone before then. I have several friends at the [...Croatian...] seaside. I used to travel a lot for work as a travelling salesman and knew a lot of people. I had a friend who called me to wish me Happy New Year in 1991 and he told me 'Pack up, take your car and your son, too, and everyone from your family and come to stay with me in Imotski⁷⁰.' But I told him, 'I can't abandon everything: house and apartments.' His name was Boro and I told him, 'How, Boro, am I going to abandon all this?' That was a friend of mine. And I told him 'I will wait until the spring (and he was calling in 1991 to say happy 1992). They were informed. They knew what was going to happen and it is exactly what happened.' (KV290413)

When asked how they didn't anticipate what was coming to them, given the terrible atrocities and destruction that were already happening in the Croatian war, they answered:

'You are a good person. Why would anyone commit an act of violence against someone who is a good person and hasn't done anything wrong?' (KV290413)

⁷⁰ Imotski is a town in western Herzegovina and as a region incorporates north Dalmatia as well.

He [...my husband...] was there. He was in the reserve forces in Jašin Grad, and came home for few days but had to go back. And the neighbours were shouting after him, 'Where are you going?' and he says, 'I have to go, otherwise I will lose my job' [... in the army...]. Who knew there was going to be the war! (UOPSTKV131212)

The situation in Stolac was similar, as one interviewee shares her experience:

My mum and I were in Rodoč, the west side of Mostar, because I was attending the old Gymnasium there. When the 'breakup' started in April (1993) the two of us were in Rodoč. From Rodoč, via Ljubuški we came to Stolac. It was peaceful here, nothing was happening yet, but we were telling everyone there was a war in Mostar and it will be coming to us here, just the same, very soon and to be careful, that we should be leaving - and everyone laughed at us. People didn't believe us that the war was happening in Mostar. And then, perhaps three days later, the same scenario happened here [...in Stolac...].' (ST220812)

Several anthropologists who worked in BiH talked about a category of *pošteni ljudi*⁷¹ (Kolind 2008; Stefansson 2007), reflecting decency and moral values, as opposed to those who are *nepošteni* in business or in life. People often emphasise their own moral standing by saying 'I don't mind who is who (Serb, Muslim or Croat), as long as he is *pošten*.' This is also used as a way resisting 'ethnicifying' social relations (Kolind 2008: 136). However, a category of *dobri ljudi*⁷² has a much broader meaning that indicates not just person's moral values but also their commitment to doing good deeds. For example, *dobar čovjek*⁷³ is someone who helps others, who doesn't commit violence and who is able to express compassion and solidarity. Ascertaining whether or not someone is a good person is usually by knowing them personally, or in larger social circles, by hearing about them.

One of my interviewees described her grandmother as follows:

⁷¹ Honest, decent person

⁷² Good people

⁷³ Good person

My grandmother is well known in the town as a 'she-dragon', she brought-up four children on her own, she is really hard working, and everyone knows about her and they know she is a good 'man'⁷⁴ (KV261112)

One interviewee commented on how he perceives now people in the post-war period:

'... and about coexistence with people, we are all the same, there is everything, everywhere. I can talk to anyone, I don't hate him or her for being a Croat, or Muslim or a Serb, there is everything.... But if a man is a [...good...] man, he is, and if he is not, he is not: there's nothing you can do about it... (ST270612)

In this section I discussed how people narrated the way in which the war escalated, and their assumptions that they would be spared from violence because it doesn't happen to good people. The accounts show remarkable faith in the local community owing to a collective belief in strong social bonds and trust, as well as a strong sense of the 'right' moral values. The fact that even though people were being called up to the army reserve forces and were given arms still didn't convince them about the forthcoming war and potential danger is more telling than any other information I came across. I argue that the post-war community will carry a degree of strong ties and sense of belonging based on a long shared history, one of the elements of the sense of community, at least among those who have the memory of it.

3.4. Solidarity and Protection

Owing to the strong social ties, particularly between friends and neighbours, people found it difficult to believe that members of a seemingly peaceful community could become the perpetrators of violence against one another. When the war started, they also expected protection and support from their community at times of need. In some cases such support did exist, but often it was neighbours

⁷⁴ *čovjek* in Bosnian language is a man. However, *čovjek* is also a personal characteristic that can be used for both male and female, someone of exceptional personal qualities i.e. *dobar čovjek*

who inflicted some of the worst violence, or simply stood by and let it happen. It means that community disintegrated quickly once the war started. Some community members became perpetrators of violence; while others simply failed to protect those they knew. The failure of immediate social circles to offer protection had a strong disruptive impact on the community. As one respondent notes:

Until yesterday these neighbours used to live in this house next door [...pointing...], we lived together. He worked in Germany for forty years. He earned his pension there. He married an Orthodox⁷⁵. For us they were Orthodox. I am over 70 years old and I remember everything. And suddenly overnight it all changes. Nobody came to protect us, to stand in front of someone and say – hey, wait a little. (KV091112)

(On the road to Blagaj) And they were saying things straight into my face. You know soldiers: some help you, others chase you, saying you are not aware of what you are getting yourself into, you won't have a piece of bread where you are going - and it really was like that. (ST260712)

In some instances, if relatives lived far away in another village or town, people would migrate to them for safety. If this was not possible and the war caught people in their homes and neighbourhoods, they were forced to rely on those in their immediate environment, and in some instances they did help.

Our family house was the only one (in the neighbourhood) with a basement. 36 people were hiding in the basement, including 9 Serbs (during the town occupation by the Croatian forces). HOS came to our house to look for Serbs. There was one family of Serbs. Mother and father were assisted to go to Berkovci and their two daughters stayed with us. My father organised for the three of us to escape Stolac in June 1992. He told his friend that his daughters would be treated the same as his own, and what was in store for me will be for them as well. (ST310112)

In 1993 when they arrested my father [...to take him to the prison camp...], I was 14-15 at the time. But they knew my father - it was his work colleague who arrested us - so he let me go. They took me first and perhaps after [...walking...] 50m, he let me go. (ST160413)

⁷⁵ A Serbian woman

Protecting someone also carried potential danger, causing fear and stress for those who were willing to help. In Kotor Varoš one interviewee told me: *“My wife had a work duty as a nurse and almost got lynched for helping a person of other nationality.”* (KV091112a) Because people couldn’t always find ways to reconcile their moral stance of not wanting to act against their neighbours and staying in their communities, they would leave, even if there was no direct threat to their life. As one interviewee from Stolac recounted, *“I left after few months of the war because I didn’t want to fight my neighbours [...in 1992...] I didn’t want to shoot at my neighbours”* (ST170812).

Table 2: Protection from War Violence (Author's Data 2013)

		STOLAC		KOTOR VAROŠ	
		Did you experience any violence during the war 1992-1995 as a civilian?		Did you experience any violence during the war 1992-1995 as a civilian?	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Were you ever protected from violence between 1992 and 1995?	Yes	5	2	10	12
	No	88	55	26	103
Who protected you?	Family members	1	0	0	3
	Relatives	0	0	2	0
	Friends	1	2	4	1
	Neighbours	1	0	2	2
	General public	0	0	0	0
	Other	2	0	2	6

The issue of protection was woven through many of interviews, which is why I decided to triangulate these findings in the survey. The survey respondents were asked whether they were protected from violence during the war; this question was primarily in reference to civilians who were the target of violence. In Stolac,

seven respondents reported being protected from the violence, while in Kotor Varoš 22 respondents reported the same. Most of the respondents reported being protected by friends, neighbours or even someone they did not know. This could have been a total stranger who just happened to be there when the violence was taking place or even one of the perpetrators of the violence, such as a soldier. During in-depth interviews, some respondents described those who saved them as known to them, while others said they were protected by strangers. The examples of the presence or absence of protection from violence and harm show that some communal ties rapidly broke down as the violence escalated but also that a decision on whether to protect someone is a reflection of individual behaviours. Absence and presence of protection can be interpreted through Durkheim's discussion of mechanical and organic solidarity. Mechanic solidarity in traditional villages, which was reproduced through daily life, disappeared in the context of violence, and the organic solidarity was absent.

3.5. Coping With Death: Thank God Everyone Is Alive

"You've done well if you managed to stay alive and if the children survived." For my interviewees, the death of a family member was the worst possible outcome of the war, something that people feared most. Every other loss was manageable. These statements do not just provide information about attitudes to death, but also speak to the strength of family ties and the importance of the family, in the same way that the previous section spoke about the significance of communal ties. Because I was not directly asking questions about killed or missing family members, I took notes as these matters emerged in the interviews and conversations.

Even if there is pain about what has been lost, it stops immediately when I think that we all stayed alive. It is painful to think about my estate, it aches when I remember how I made the house, [...we had...] four children. My late husband was working, schooling, this one to university, and another one to school. It wasn't easy, but what to do? Dear God, I am happy, I keep repeating, that the children and all of us stayed alive and well... I am really satisfied, thanks to dear God that we are all alive and well. I am happy here and my children as well. (ST270612)

None among my closest died. That is my greatest fortune. (KV230413)

Family is essential for the community, as an institution (Hillery 1959, 1982) and as a unit of social organisation (Cooley 1956). Even former enemies or perpetrators of violence enquire about the wellbeing of family members. One of the respondents from Stolac recalls how she met a former school friend after the war. She had been displaced from the town and he was a member of a local HVO/HOS unit that had carried out the evictions, among other atrocities, in the town. On her first visit to the town after the war, he appeared in front of the group of returnees, who all knew who he was and his reputation, and addressed her directly:

“He puts his hand forward to exchange greetings with me. And what do you do, hey? He is a war criminal! He extends his hand forward and says ‘How are you?’ ‘I am well’, I respond. ‘How is the family?’ ‘All, thank God, alive and well. My answers are short and not just a little angry.’ (FG240812)

Most people agreed and said that lethal violence or if a family member went missing was the worst possible outcome of the war, because this usually meant they had been killed. Their emotive stories would pour forth with grief, pain and sorrow for the missing and those who were known to be dead. Given that the war was in the relatively recent past, I did not ask people to comment directly about the events or the violence they endured. I did not want to intrude on their privacy or their pain if they had suffered loss, or to push them where they did not want to share their stories. When you are starting an interview, you don’t know anything about the person. Everyone looks the same on the outside, and stories of some of the worst atrocities came out when I least expected, or where there were no signs a story of violence would be forthcoming. This reflects back to the discussion of how we approach the field in the research on violence and what could be motivations for telling stories.

3.6. Narrating the Experience of Violence

The death toll in the BiH war was very high and many lives were not spared, as I discussed in the Chapter One this thesis. Residents of both towns were exposed to various forms of violence. In Stolac there was mass forced displacement and the targeting of the male population of army age, who were detained and tortured in the local orthopaedic hospital (Koštana Bolnica) and in the prison camps Dretelj, Gabela and Heliodrom. In Kotor Varoš, Muslim and Croat residents were also force displaced and on two occasions mass killings occurred (Kotor and the village Grabovica). Stolac suffered massive material destruction that the booklet 'Crimes in Stolac Municipality (1992-1996)'⁷⁶ portrays as genocide. The authors of the booklet state that "[t]he perpetrators ... committed crimes that correspond to the definition of the crime of genocide." (p.16), which is defined according to the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.⁷⁷ This accusation of genocide has been widely discussed, including with myself during the interviews with several of the book's authors. This section provides personal accounts of the war, which shed some light on the local dynamics of the violence that account for how the communities slowly disintegrated over the months of the war. In Annex 4 I provide survey data on the experience and witnessing of violence between 1992 and 1995. In Stolac, I didn't discuss war violence with interviewees, as I elaborated earlier in the chapter. By the time I came to Kotor Varoš every interview with local Muslims contained an emotional account of the experience of the violence, which is why I included them in this section.

This personal account emerged in the middle of an ordinary interview with a woman (who was 16 years old in 1992) in Kotor Varoš. We talked about her house and children, her husband who works in neighbouring Slovenia and then she suddenly started talking about the war.

[We went on foot...] from Hrvaćani to Dabovica. The Serbian army picked us up from Dabovica and they took us to the main road. We sat in the canal by the road waiting for those trucks and then when the trucks came, we boarded them and they took us to Kotor Varoš. We stayed in 'Pilana'⁷⁸ prison camp for two nights. There were rapes and everything. But nothing happened to me. I

⁷⁶ Published in 1996 and reprinted in 2001.

⁷⁷ <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

⁷⁸ Sawmill, pre-war factory.

wasn't raped or anything. There were women and girls who were raped that night. There was one Croat - he was there when we arrived. They put a tractor tyre around his neck and he had to walk around with it. They were really bullying him. The first night we arrived they took away some women and they were raped. Then the Red Cross came and recorded us all. From there we went to Travnik under their protection. They escorted us to Korićanske stijene⁷⁹. Our army [...Army of BiH...] who came from Travnik, took over from there and escorted us to the end of our journey. The Red Cross didn't escort us beyond this point. I didn't know the women personally, but as soon as we arrived in Travnik it was all reported and they were seen by doctors and checked. It was organised on the spot. (KV250413a)

Another woman told me how they were captured and deported from Vrbanjci, near Kotor Varoš.

They [...men, soldiers...] went towards the woods and we went towards Vrbanjci and spent the night there. Next morning some people came and they told us "All your men are captured." But we didn't believe it. We fought so hard for six months, putting up resistance so they wouldn't get us. And then they get captured in the woods. How likely is that? It wasn't difficult to capture us [...civilians...], we were unarmed. We were taken to Zenica immediately, directly from Vrbanjci. We spent the night in Travnik. There we were given coffee and dinner and rest. From there we were taken to a school in Zenica. (KV250413b)

Every day eight buses left the town. We also got into one. You had to pay 50 DM for the ride. They were making lists and when the bus was full it departed and then they filled the next one. (KV030513)

In Kotor Varoš, between 150 and 200 local Muslim soldiers who were killed in Grabovica are still pending as missing persons cases that are yet to be solved. The crime remains unresolved because the victims' bodies are still unaccounted for and they are officially recorded as missing persons. One of my interviewees from Večići, at present living in Kotor Varoš, told me the story of the following missing person's case:

Husband [...wife is present at the interview as well as the children who move in and out; the account of Grabovica starts after 50th min of the interview...]: She [... the wife...] survived a lot. Up there, if you heard about Večići, many perished. They were targeted by aeroplanes: many died. She lost her brother.

⁷⁹ Korićani's Rocks, a cliff face located on mount Vlašić

She's been through a lot, 6th grade of primary school. [...the wife takes over talking...] I was 12-13. But there were babies too; and smaller and smallest children. There were even babies being born during this war⁸⁰. We were blockaded for six months. There was gunfire non-stop. If you tried to leave [... the house...] there was just shooting everywhere. We survived, but others didn't. What can you do...? I have one brother and one sister. For one brother I have no information. He is missing. He was heading to Travnik, through the woods and then went missing. Up there, there is a place called Grabovica, it is between there and Travnik. That's where 160 of them disappeared and no one knows if they are dead or alive. Nobody will ever find out. [...The husband comments that they are killed...]. You are holding this sadness inside you that can't be forgotten or erased, but life goes on. (KV121212)

Another interviewee provided a more detailed account of the same event. It was an odd encounter that I also noted in my diary.

It was strange how it happened. I went to a house where a woman was working in her garden, digging up onions. I introduced myself and started talking to her, and she said: "I am going to tell you what happened here in Kotor." And she started talking; a skilled narrator who remembered many small details and told them eloquently. (Diary 3 May 2013)

I am going to tell you exactly what happened. The ones who were held in Grabovica, they all perished. They were killed. How many years have passed and not a single bone has been found? Over the years they [... the investigators...] looked here and looked there but nothing has been found. I think 162 or 163 people were killed there. I know four men who got killed there as well because their wives were up here [... in Večići, with me...] and there was no food, so they tried to get to them and got arrested as well. Because Kotorani were not fighting in Večići, they didn't perish in Grabovica: just these four. They [... the executioners...] released nine under-aged persons. There were others who were younger than 18 but they were afraid to speak up. They [... the executioners...] said whoever is under-age should stand up, but they were too afraid, thinking they would be the first ones to be executed. But others, there were two or three women and youngsters who got up, and they were put to one side and released. The army informed another unit that was further down the road that nine people were coming their way [... along the road...] and to let them through. And they did. There were one called Adisa and Adis [...brother and sister...] and she was told to persuade him to go, otherwise "you will never see Adis again." And she was telling him "Come on Adis, you are not 18 yet." But he whispered back "I don't dare, they will execute me." And he stayed behind and got executed. There were many

⁸⁰ Another interviewee confirmed this as she personally delivered her daughter-in-law's baby in Večići during the fighting.

speculations about where they are: here and there, on Rudnik, in Belgrade... But if they were alive they would have turned up by now. (KV030513)

The same interviewee continues:

Eight buses were leaving every day, taking expelled Croats and Muslims. We got on one of them. Mostly women; they separated the men and elderly in Čelinac where a drunken soldier climbs on the bus and asks, "Is anyone here from Večiči?" I don't know, perhaps some Serbs were killed in Večiči. Some woman calls in response "No. Here is Ravne, Hadrovci, Doljane, Kotor." We are all women. He asks again, "Are any women here from Večiči?" There were few of them who were married to Večiči men but they were Kotorke (from Kotor). And then another man comes on the bus and tells him "Come with me. Leave the women alone. Let's go to Grabovica, there is something far more interesting." That's what that other Serb said, also a soldier. He managed to get him off the bus in that drunken state, and they left. I later realised this was the day [...when they were killed...]. (KV030513)

The delivery of these two narratives differs significantly. In the first interview the story of violence in *Večiči* and missing persons from Grabovica didn't emerge until almost an hour into the interview. In the second one, I walked into the interviewee's garden and after a quick introduction she started telling her story of the violence without being prompted. Her narrative is among the most distressing interviews I conducted in Kotor Varoš. These two women are of different generations: the first experienced of violence as an adolescent girl, while the other, in her sixties, was an active participant in all events. She needed to share her experience with me, because she had never had the chance to do so with someone unknown or neutral, a researcher. Both women wanted their stories to be heard by the wider world, not only to help find the missing persons but also to raise awareness of the atrocities in Kotor Varoš, which are relatively unknown to the wider public. But their articulation of the experience of violence differs, possibly in how they were passing it onto me as a researcher (Bruner, 1986 quoted in Eastmond, 2007:249).

3.7. Resentment And Distress: Material Destruction Of Place

Interviewees did not just talk about the violence; they also often shared memories of their pre-war life, family, and their communities. This is a process of social structuring that Tonkin (1992) describes as follows: “[p]eople talk of ‘the past’ so as to distinguish from ‘now’, from a different ‘then’” (p.8). This is exactly what people were doing, comparing past and present realities. In collecting stories of the past, this section frames the narratives that portray the communities and explains what has been lost, arguing that violent destruction of the buildings is strongly linked to the disappearance of community.

This section addresses the material impact of the war, a targeted destruction of history, architectural heritage, and vernacular buildings that may be either personal property, such as housing, or communal property. In the two communities, particularly in Stolac, where its rich cultural and historical artefacts were wiped out during the war, the destruction corresponds to ‘coordinated destruction’, which has a function of wiping out any traces of the existence of a targeted group (Tilly 2003). The aim of this destruction goes beyond regular military operations, where the damage is typically caused through fighting. According to international criminal law, wanton destruction and appropriation of property constitutes a war crime⁸¹. Placing emphasis on *purposeful* or *targeted*, the violent destruction of buildings in Bevan’s (2006:11) view, “[a]ccompanies the decline in the power or presence of a community, ethnic or religious group, or class in a local[e]”. Individual and collective memories are linked to the built environment; interactions with it and memories of it lead to the creation of social identity located in time and place (Bevan 2006: 15). Povrzanovic Frykman (1997) for example argues that even during the war in Croatia, meanings of space and place play an important role in identity formation in the context of violence on bases other than ideological. These two approaches of Tilly and Bevan pose a

⁸¹ Destruction or appropriation of property; that was not justified by military necessity; that was extensive and carried out wantonly; of property that was protected under the Geneva Conventions of 1949; the conduct was associated with an international armed conflict.

fundamental contradiction to the outcome of the same violence. According to Tilly, the purpose of the violence is to destroy the entire group it is targeting, while Bevan argues that being targeted by violence creates social identity and reinforces the group. McMillan and Chavis (1986) make a similar case for the sense of community being reinforced by communal experience of a crisis and I follow this point by arguing that material destruction reinforced the sense of community among the pre-war population and acted as a strong motivating factor for the post-war community formation among the local resident.

Upon arrival in Stolac for my fieldwork in 2012, powerful and undisputable evidence of the destruction was still observable across the town. Among others was the *čaršija*⁸² mosque (Sultan Selim's Mosque), the oldest religious site in Stolac, which was built in the early 16th century. The mosque was surrounded by a complex of buildings, including a courtyard with a fountain, old tombstones and *gasulhana* [a building where bodies are prepared for burial] and a line of shops faced the *tepa*, an old market area in the centre of the town. Photos taken after the destruction in 1993 show some parts of the walls in the background and stone rubble scattered in the area where the complex used to stand. Other mosques met a similar destiny, most of them dating from the 18th century, when this little town was flourishing under Ottoman rule. Mosques in the villages in rural areas of the municipality were destroyed as well, with a clear aim to erase all trace of the existence of Muslim culture in the area. Comprehensive details of the destruction of Muslim cultural artefacts in an attempt to erase the Muslim heritage of the area are provided in Walasek (2015). Further to this, many private old houses that were also part of the town's cultural heritage were destroyed.

Begovina, a housing complex on the left bank of the river Bregava, was destroyed in July 1993⁸³. The complex was built by Ali-aga (*paša*) Rizvanbegović, who used it as his summer residence; the complex still belongs to the Rizvanbegović family. Rizvanbegović was a captain from Stolac who played a major role in the fight

⁸² Ottoman word for market place

⁸³ Crimes in Stolac Municipality (1992-1996) (2001)

against an uprising instigated by Captain Husein Gradiscević (Malcolm 2002). As a reward for his role in disengaging the captains of Herzegovina during the uprising, he became ruler of Herzegovina, detaching it from Bosnia into a separate *vilajet*,⁸⁴ which he then ruled from 1833 until his death in 1951 (Mahmutćehajić 2011; Riedlmayer 2007). The complex comprises several houses, yards and stables surrounded by a wall with a security gate. It is positioned at the end of the road, just next to Bregava. In the generation before the war, the complex belonged to three Rizvanbegović brothers and their families. All three are academics and they all survived the war, one with brutal consequences as he endured prolonged physical and psychological torture as a prisoner of war⁸⁵. They all left Stolac because of the war, and only one family member has been visiting the houses regularly since the war to undertake restoration work on the buildings. He knows that members of HVO forces, who were stationed at the house at the time, destroyed his property in 1993 , when one of them went out in the night to set the buildings on fire:

'It is an example of beautiful architecture, but the family doesn't have enough funds to restore it to its previous state. Many houses have been repaired to serve the purpose of living, but many people had very nice, big and nicely arranged houses and the reparation support was not enough to restore them to their previous condition.' (ST290612).

Even though he knows who the perpetrator was, the homeowner has never reported him, as he feared retaliation. Interestingly, the destruction of the buildings in Stolac was not combined with personal violence and killings, unlike in many other places (Riedlmayer, 2002), including Kotor Varoš, which I documented earlier. The intention of HVO and HOS forces was to remove all the Muslim population, which didn't necessarily need to be operationalized through massive killings.

Although in Kotor Varoš the local Muslims and Croats are much less vocal about and resentful of the material destruction, their experiences of the destruction are

⁸⁴ Administrative unit in Ottoman empire

⁸⁵ Interview and media reports

no less painful or emotionally significant. There is a part of the town next to where the market used to be, where the Muslims were living before the war and where the local Islamic Council had their premises. Local Imam narrated destruction in this neighbourhood:

'In this area, 12 houses were destroyed, the administrative offices of the Islamic Community, three tombs (turbe) and three masjids in the period between 1992 and 1994. All this was intentional, targeted damage. The town mosque (located in Donja Varoš) was destroyed with dynamite on 29 December 1992 at 23:15. But nobody was killed during the destruction. People feel empty about this destruction. With us Muslims, we get attached to a mosque in our childhood. In childhood, as children, we go to maktab⁸⁶, which is part of the mosque, and we learn about religion, about Islam. Those are the first steps that children encounter. Before attending pre-school and school, before everything, through maktab they learn about religion and they get connected. And from that time people are connected to the mosque and to everything that is an integral part of the mosque. This is something that remains within a person their entire life. The moment they are deprived of it, they lose part of their life, something they were connected to their entire life. When a mosque is destroyed part of them disappears, too.' (KV121212)

Unlike the nearby villages and in Kotor, Muslim houses in the town were for the most part not targeted by destruction. *"The houses were not destroyed, but repatriation was slow because the refugees were living in them. People had to wait as long as a year."* (KV061112) For the Serbian population who remained during the war, particularly after the fighting stopped, signs of the violence were not so striking because the central part of Kotor Varoš was less damaged. Some interviewees who lived in the town throughout the war witnessed no acts of destruction, not even material damage, and they even suggested that none had taken place, even denying there had been any violence. The victims, returning and finding the town in a similar state to how they recalled it, were able to settle back into their previous lives because the community wasn't as unfamiliar as it was in Stolac. However, the violent destruction of buildings and religious objects often went hand in hand with other forms of violence. For the municipality, Riedelmayer (2002:13) reports that at the village mosque in Hanifići (Kotor Varoš), more than 30 members of the congregation were reportedly burned alive inside the building.

⁸⁶ Religious school

The Roman Catholic Church in Kotor Varoš was heavily damaged and its bell towers were destroyed, but the main body of the building is still standing. There is a small square by the river, surrounded by old houses, which used to be the old *čaršija*. Every house in this part of the town was destroyed during the war, including vernacular buildings, old shops and cafes. The position of the square is below the level of the town and it is not particularly visible unless one goes there intentionally. Unlike in Stolac, where it is impossible to avoid seeing the material consequences of the war on any ordinary walk through the town, the former *čaršija* is easily hidden, particularly from the eyes of those who do not wish to see. On the other side of the river Vrbanja, in Kotor, where a massacre of local the Muslim population took place in June 1992, every single house was burnt or demolished and many are still in a derelict state. A respondent who bought one of these houses and moved in after the war said during an interview that it was nothing but the bare walls, covered in soot. Similar to Stolac, ordinary people use practical language to tell the stories and make sense of the violent destruction with grievance but not resentment. They are more focused on their personal losses, particularly those who experienced direct violence and torture, and less on those of the community.

3.8. Imagined Memories of Violence

The destruction of buildings in Stolac did not stop with the end of the war in 1995. The events described in this section occurred between 1996 and 2000, when the dozens of Muslim houses were destroyed after the DAP was signed and the return of the displaced population had been arranged. I first read about this event in Kolind (2008:24), who states that “[a]round 200 Muslim houses in the municipality were blown up or burned within a short time.” In one of the first interviews I conducted with a resident of Stolac, they told this story: *“Following signing of the DAP and establishing civilian authorities of FBiH, a number of (Muslim) houses were blown up to prevent return. This happened on 24/12/1995.*

*The neighbours were warned to stay away from their houses during these attacks, as they were highly likely to be damaged too.*⁸⁷ (ST310112) Finally, "Crimes in Stolac Municipality" (2001:101) provides a list of 88 houses destroyed between 24 November 1995 and 2 February 1996. Based on the evidence that the entire pre-war population of Stolac was displaced at the time of the event, none of them would have been able to witness it and the only way to learn about it was through oral accounts of those living in the town at the time, or from the perpetrators. The question is: what is the purpose of this small but significant piece of history? "History is an invention which reality supplies with raw materials. It is not, however, an arbitrary invention, and the interest it arouses is rooted in the interest of the teller" (Manzo and Devine-Wright 2014).

I asked people specific questions about the post-war destruction to establish whether it really happened and to what extent. One person offered an account of post-war destruction almost identical to an earlier one with a little more detail and in reference to a different year: *'Croats were mining houses. "In 1999, I was on my way and the whole Imaković house was standing on the road."; "House of Eno Obrić (behind Monaco) was burned down at 5 am in the morning 1999. In 1999 they blew up 300 houses post Dayton, including Serbian and Muslim houses."* (ST210712) Another interviewee witnessed the burning of houses, which took place around the same time. *"One night four houses were burning. I woke up in the middle of the night and I heard a crackling sound. I looked outside and saw four houses burning. I didn't even tell my wife [...] Houses were burnt in Bokulja in 1998."* (ST140413)

An interviewee who lived in the town during the war gave a different account of the same events: *'Most houses were burnt in 1995. That was the time of fiercest fighting between Muslims and Croats. And then, it was horrible, those blasting of the houses, then burning, I don't know, there was a lot, all of that was mainly in 1995, that's when most were burnt.'* (ST070512). He later continues, saying that in his

⁸⁷ This person was not present at the time of the event and actually, according to their personal account, only visited the town for the first time two years later. Note that they provided no details as to where these houses were, who they were burnt down by or which neighbors.

opinion these actions were random, not carefully planned and organised, and usually involved small groups of young men who would come together without premeditation to commit arson and other damage. The fires were not extinguished but left until they burned out naturally. This respondent further continued that the town residents were never warned about forthcoming destruction (as one of the previous interviewees had claimed) and that the arsonists mainly targeted empty houses, so there were no victims. Usually 10-15 houses were burnt at a time in one neighbourhood, followed by another neighbourhood subsequently, but this was periodical and did not happen according to a regular calendar or schedule. The actions mainly took place during the night and the flames were easily visible across the town. During the summer of 1995, houses were burnt in the villages of the municipality as well.

The story of the post-war destruction of houses is essentially true, even though the narratives are not always factually accurate in all elements. As Portelli (1991:60) notes: “[t]ales go with time, grow with time, and decay with time.” He further notes that memory can manipulate factual details and the chronological sequence of past events for different reasons, symbolic, psychological or formal. A story of the destruction of a few hundred houses at a particular point in time has elements of chronological displacement and also of altering facts, using them to create a specific narrative. The fear of forgetting traumatic events at a collective level can be significant and some group members and interest groups are focused on preserving and retelling these stories. Elisabeth Wood (2003:35) writes “... because the telling of stories of past injustice and resistance shapes *present* propensities for mobilisation and political identities, they may be told for precisely that purpose, rather than to convey accurate accounts of events as remembered.” In Stolac, this particular event, the way it is imagined and narrated by the pre-war residents, created a collective memory, which established a group boundary between the perpetrators and the victims and acted as a point of cohesion for this fractured and displaced group, now reunited. The purpose of the actual material destruction was most likely to prevent the return of the pre-war Muslim

population. Social memories of the pre-war residents in Stolac embodied not only the actual violence, but also events they haven't seen.

3.9. Conclusion

This chapter focused on how violence led to community loss and explored the ways in which people narrate actual violent acts. On the structural and symbolic level, this is what Elaine Scarry (1985) refers to as the unmaking of the world through violence. So, what is the purpose of telling personal and group accounts of violent events and creating group memories? First, the stories of the local residents confirmed that violence really took place both in Stolac and Kotor Varoš – and not just that, but also the forms of violence, the perpetrators, the timing and the outcomes. Second, this chapter showed that the experience of violence becomes embedded in the everyday life of post-war communities. Partly, this is because the violence is used to shape spaces for a new group as Lefebvre argues (1991). It also argued that even if not openly discussed in 'public spaces,' the history of violence continues to be shared and reflected upon in intimate and private conversations. For example, the focus group discussion about current mundane problems, such as unemployment, local politics and the lack of future prospects for young people, led to stories of their experiences of violence. While in most cases violence does not paralyse social processes, it preserves the feeling of uncertainty and one's inability to comprehend what has happened. Coming to terms with the fact that close social structures were able to commit, support, or silently condone the violence is the major source of loss. At the same time, coming to terms with the attempted annihilation of a specific culture or ethnic group created an even stronger sense of community.

The network of relationships that was lost as a result of the conflict proved to be one of the most traumatic experiences for members of both of the fractured communities. People were targeted by violence, often by those who were members of their close social circles. Irrespective of whether they personally knew the

perpetrators or not, the fact that their social environment did not offer safety or provide protection from the violence was unexpected. The idea of personal connections, in which people are deeply embedded in their social milieu, is the cornerstone of discussions on community; in Toennies' *Gemeinschaft*, which is focused on the will to maintain community, Durkeim's mechanical solidarity and Cooley's focus on primary groups, the underlying notion is that of maintaining community through social bonds and interactions. Once this has been lost the community ceases to exist. When neighbours and friends committed crimes against those they knew, the loss occurred. The means of social exchange were closed because community members lost the possibility of communicating or interacting. The rapid way in which the war played out and was almost concluded before people even fully accepted that they may be affected also showed a high level of trust in their community.

The second section of this chapter discussed community loss, focusing on the material impact of the war and the destruction of space. One aspect I considered is how people felt during the war, at the time when the violence was happening, while the other is how they reflected on it once the war was over. For the pre-war population of Stolac, finding the town demolished to rubble was a source of collective and individual trauma, which took a long time to get over. At the same time, it was an unavoidable reminder of what had happened and the violence that had taken place. In the case of Stolac it is immediately obvious that the local intellectual elites, most of whom lived outside the town, see the violence as being against the Muslim cultural-historical background and that the destruction of this heritage constitutes genocide. The pre-war communities bore witness to the architectural and vernacular damage that was present at the end of the war, powerfully reminding people of what had happened. This massive destruction had altered the community space to the point of it being unrecognisable for the pre-war inhabitants and they were at a loss to find an alternative for their sense of belonging. At the same time, they were desperately trying to find a way to bring some sense of order into their personal lives and to the community. In Kotor Varoš, where the destruction was less severe at the town level but not for local

Croats and Muslims where almost every single house was destroyed, the physical order of the community was less affected. In Stolac the main objective of the violent destruction was to completely wipe out a culture that had existed in the area for many centuries. In this process, in both communities, people's lives were wiped out. Where the perpetrators were local people, by destroying the town they were also destroying their own community, which raises questions of whether it was lost for them, too, or whether they were taking intentional steps towards creating a new community.

Lastly, the chapter provided insights into how social history is constructed and how the narratives should be interpreted. It illustrates what Tonkin (1992) has highlighted about narrating the past: no details, even small ones, are irrelevant, particularly in understanding the link between concepts as complex as violence and the community. The next chapter focuses on the post-war period and community formation. I argue that even though the community has been lost through destruction and displacement and the legacy of personal violence, the sense of community has been maintained, which was a motivating factor for people to return to their pre-war geographic and social state.

4. Life In Circles: The Many Nuances Of Post-War Spaces

*I live my life in widening circles
that reach out across the world.*

*I may not complete this last one
but I give myself to it.*

Rainer Maria Rilke

The previous chapter discussed how community was lost to violence. This chapter introduces the two towns, Stolac and Kotor Varoš, as they were in 2012 and 2013, when I conducted my fieldwork. It provides an ethnographic account of the two

towns by analysing their spatial organization, including landscape and environment, because the study focuses on geographic community. Town, for most residents, is equivalent to community: they don't use the local word *zajednica*. Sometimes they would also use ethnic community as a reference e.g. "Mi Muslimani" (We, Muslims.) In the chapter I will also discuss local institutions, particularly local government, which often use their political means to translate ethno-nationalist politics that are likely to reinforce the boundaries that exist today in BiH. The aim of my ethnographic exploration is to understand communal boundaries as both physical and social, in what form they exist and what their purpose is. As Choen (1985) puts it:

Boundaries are marked because communities interact in some way or other with entities from which they are or wish to be, distinguished. (1985:12)

This chapter will explore the existence of different communities in the towns at different levels of spatial and social units, and their boundaries, too, which are not always apparent and clearly marked, sometimes even to group members 'who are on the same side' (Cohen 1985: 12). Such boundaries can be so subtle that they are recognisable only to group members (McMillan and Chavis 1986) such as, for example, those in the case of the 'Muslim' and 'Croat' cafés that I will describe later in the chapter. This reference is primarily relevant to the ethnic boundaries that Kolind (2008) argues for Stolac, were created through war violence and the country's ethnic division. Ethnic boundaries could also exist between the pre-war population, either locals or minority population, and IDPs, based on cultural differences or other social cleavages (World Bank 2002).

Different community members will have different perceptions of their communities, which have been created through symbols, not just the structure and institutions that provide them with meaning (Cohen 1985). The first section of the Chapter introduces the two towns and discusses the meaning given to some public spaces by the towns' residents. The idea is not to simply provide a description the towns but to draw on local narratives, in which people use specific spatial,

temporal and institutional references for the community. Particular attention is given to the use of symbols, which provide meaning to the communities. This chapter also presents my own observations of places and spaces where people come together or socialize. In doing so, it describes local neighbourhoods as the basic unit of social and organisational structure. The third section investigates segregation in local institutions, schools, and health and social service providers, and the attitudes of local governments and their role in the community.

4.1. Stolac

I arrived to Stolac with certain preconceptions of the town, which was reported as being marred by intermittent incidents of ethnic violence⁸⁸ (Kolind 2008) and being ethnically segregated, at least when it comes to local schools and local health centres. With 85% material damage, the displacement of almost the entire population and the arrival of a few thousand of new settlers, I will argue that the community loss to violence was so substantial, that the community formed after the war was new within the territorial boundaries of the town. In 1996, Stolac was the only one of the four municipalities (the other three were Bugojno, Vareš and neighbouring Čapljina) that failed to establish an Interim Municipal Assembly (IMA)⁸⁹. This was meant to consist of “...the highest representative of the present Municipal authorities⁹⁰, together with the highest local representative of the two (political) parties having received most votes at the elections of 1990...” (ICG 1996:26) and would effectively be responsible for the successful convening of the IMA and the election of municipal officials. This was an attempt to reverse the municipal management to the pre-war, democratically elected representatives, particularly in multi-ethnic municipalities, and to restore the balance between local ethnic groups. The reason this approach failed in Stolac is owing to the scale of the population displacement, which meant that the town’s composition changed

⁸⁸ Reported by different media and international organizations including IWPR, Nansen Dialogue Center (NDC) Mostar, and OSCE BiH.

⁸⁹ Agreement on the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 30 March 1996 <http://www.nato.int/ifor/un/u960404b.htm> (last accessed 14/04/2016)

⁹⁰ War governance structures.

significantly and that, after the war, it was composed of a largely Croatian settlers who arrived as IDPs from other towns in Bosnia. At the time Stolac was dominated by 'nationalist minded Croats symbolically as well as institutionally' and inter-ethnic contact was quite rare (Kolind 2008: 27). The pre-war residents, whose sense of community had been maintained through living as a community in the nearby town of Blagaj, returned with the idea to reform their old community; but the arrival of a large number of new settlers meant that a new government and institutional structure prevailed creating divisions between the members.

Even at the point of my departure to Stolac, similar opinions were prevalent among my friends in Sarajevo, who saw it as a place contested between two ethnic groups: Croats and Muslims. I had a very good reference point in Kolind's book (2008) based on the data collected roughly a decade before my own fieldwork. He acknowledges the limitations of his study, which only took into account the Muslim population that returned to the town after the war. It was my intention to overcome this by making sure I had a sample that was representative of the entire town and I also planned to triangulate the data and my findings. I entered the place with an open mind and readiness to learn.

I arrived to Stolac on Wednesday 4th April 2012. I am renting a flat in Vlatka Mačeka Street in a neighbourhood called Ćuprija. I spent the first days just walking around the town to give people a chance to get used to my presence, and to be seen by as many people as possible. Our accommodation is very decent and most importantly it is very, very peaceful. The building is immediately next to the river Bregava, very fast and powerful. You can hear its roar even when the windows are closed. (Excerpt - Personal Video Diary 9th April 2012)

'First morning in Stolac Tisa and me went for a walk to explore the town. There are several big streets in the town, stretching from one end to the other. Most houses are built on these main streets. There are few side streets but they seem to be short and you can see the end of them standing on the main road. We could see many partly destroyed houses and beautiful old buildings and my daughter started asking what happened to them. I explained the destruction happened during the war. In some places, there were signposts describing landmarks of historical importance where they used to stand but no longer existed. She has, of course, seen the traces of war in Sarajevo but not on the same scale as in Stolac. She wanted to know what it meant and we had

a serious conversation about the war and its consequences. Several days later she concluded war was a bad thing. Some buildings in the centre, like the former old and new hotel and a café called Gradska Kafana are still in ruins. I later discovered that they were not repaired because of the unresolved property ownership.' **(Diary 5th April 2012)**

The old part of Stolac still has the same streets and the same town borders as before the war. Despite intense reconstruction efforts, there are still many damaged and unrepaired houses that stand as a reminder of the war and the passage of time. People usually know whom these houses belong to and they would tell a story about their owners and why they have not been repaired. For example, the house of Nijaz Durakovic⁹¹ still stands as it was left after a savage explosion at the end of one of the main streets in Kukavac. Because he was such a prominent figure in BiH public life, his destroyed house is often mentioned as an example of the savagery of the war.

Stolac is a small place. In this picture you can see a house where General Rade Hamović was born; the last Chief of Tito's Main Headquarters, and a father of today's Serbian businessman Vuka Hamovića. It is the first white house on the left. In continuation to the right is a dilapidated ground floor house where Nijaz Duraković was born. He was a founder and reformist and the first President of the Socialdemocratic Party of BiH. (ST15112014)

The streets are very lively or crowded. Dozens of cafés are lined up on one side of the main street, in the town centre. It was mainly men sitting in them at the tables, sometimes alone and sometimes in pairs or groups, drinking coffee. There were no other drinks on the tables, and almost no women. It was not possible to immediately guess from the names of the cafés whether some of them were 'Muslim' or 'Croat' and whether, or how, they follow the alleged ethnic boundaries. The most accurate way was to guess from the names of the owners, which were printed on the plaques by the main entrance as a legal requirement. For example, I guessed that a café called 'Frenki' would have been 'Croat' but 'Epicentar' didn't say much about the possible ethnic background of their owners. Some of the cafes

⁹¹ Born in Stolac, he was a BiH author, intellectual, professor and politician, considered to have been one of the most influential public figures of his generation. He died in 2012.

didn't have a name at all. For me, as an outsider and an observer, it was impossible to establish the alleged boundary. After spending some time in the town I discovered more. Café 'Epicentar', for example, was a 'Croat' place, which means that only the Croats visited, as were the other two cafés in the town centre. In contrast 'Bar Locco' and 'Beredža' were 'Muslim' cafés, but Bar 'Locco' was actually more often referred to as an SDP⁹² place, because the owner and the guests were party supporters and politically very active. For the other café, Beredža, the owner later told me that everyone comes to his café, including employees from the municipal administration, supposedly all Croats, whose building is just across the road.

The first boundaries I saw were subtle, in the form of cafés where some members were welcome and the others were not, although it wasn't obvious to the eyes of an outsider. These boundaries are reinforced by the seemingly more apparent boundaries in the destruction of the communal history. But they went deeper, aimed at the rejection and exclusion of those who don't belong. One of my interviewees in Sarajevo told me to pay attention to the crosses that are lined up along the local road between Mostar and Stolac, symbolising the Croatian war victory and their dominance, at least in numerical terms, in the villages in Stolac municipality. The use of national and religious iconography and symbols during the Balkan wars is widely documented by scholars. Pauker (2012) calls it 'war through other means'. I was also told that there was a large stone cross erected during the war at Town, a medieval fortress made of stone, on top of the Veli-dedo hill, which is why this was one of the first destinations to visit. For Stolac specifically, Kolind (2008) reported heavy use of nationalist symbols in the public sphere of the town, such as in health centre, or in the building of the local municipal authorities in front of which a big wooden cross has been erected. He also refers to the crosses that my interviewees mentioned, which are used as territorial markers in many places. Except for the crosses in the countryside, most of these symbols had disappeared by the time of my fieldwork, but people could not remember the year when this happened. When I went to interview employees

⁹² Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

of the local Health Centre “Stolac,” my personal observation was of the white walls, which looked clean and without any symbols, religious or nationalist. The wooden cross in front of the local Municipal building had disappeared, too, in 2012.

The extensive use of religious symbols was present in other places in Herzegovina, too, such as in the nearby town of Počitelj, where a big cross has been erected in the place of a demolished mosque (Vrcan, 2001 quoted in Velikonja, 2003). Nationalist and religious symbols were used extensively during and after the war (Pauker 2012; Velikonja 2003). I would like to add a more nuanced elucidation, namely that using religious symbolism among the Catholics in BiH is rooted in deeper religious and cultural practices that go back centuries. This is relevant to my argument that the use of religious symbols in Stolac may not have been primarily aimed at upsetting the local Muslims, but creating a boundary around a specific community that lacked cohesion when they arrived to the town. Stolac received a large number of Croats from different towns in Central Bosnia who had very little in common apart from their ethnic and religious identity and their experience of forced displacement. In his ethnography of the Balkan tribes at the start of the 20th century, Durham (1928) documents the practice of tattooing that was present in some parts of Bosnia, particularly Catholic districts, but abhorred by the Orthodox. He quotes ‘*pop*⁹³ Gjuro’ who calls tattooing “...a horrid “Latin” custom (Durham 1928: 102). Tattooing was prevalent among women and Durham finds that they were for the most part tattooed between the age of 13 and 16, and that the first tattooing had to be done in the spring, indicating this was some reminiscence of a pagan custom. They were mainly tattooed with crosses and religious symbols, for which he provides drawings.⁹⁴ Don Luka Pavlović mentions the use of crosses in the past, before and during Ottoman rule in Herzegovina (Kuzman and Škegro 2002). He documents that even in the early 20th century, Catholics had a custom of erecting and worshiping crosses along the roads, in the attempt to justify the current practice of installing crosses in visible locations in

⁹³ Orthodox priest.

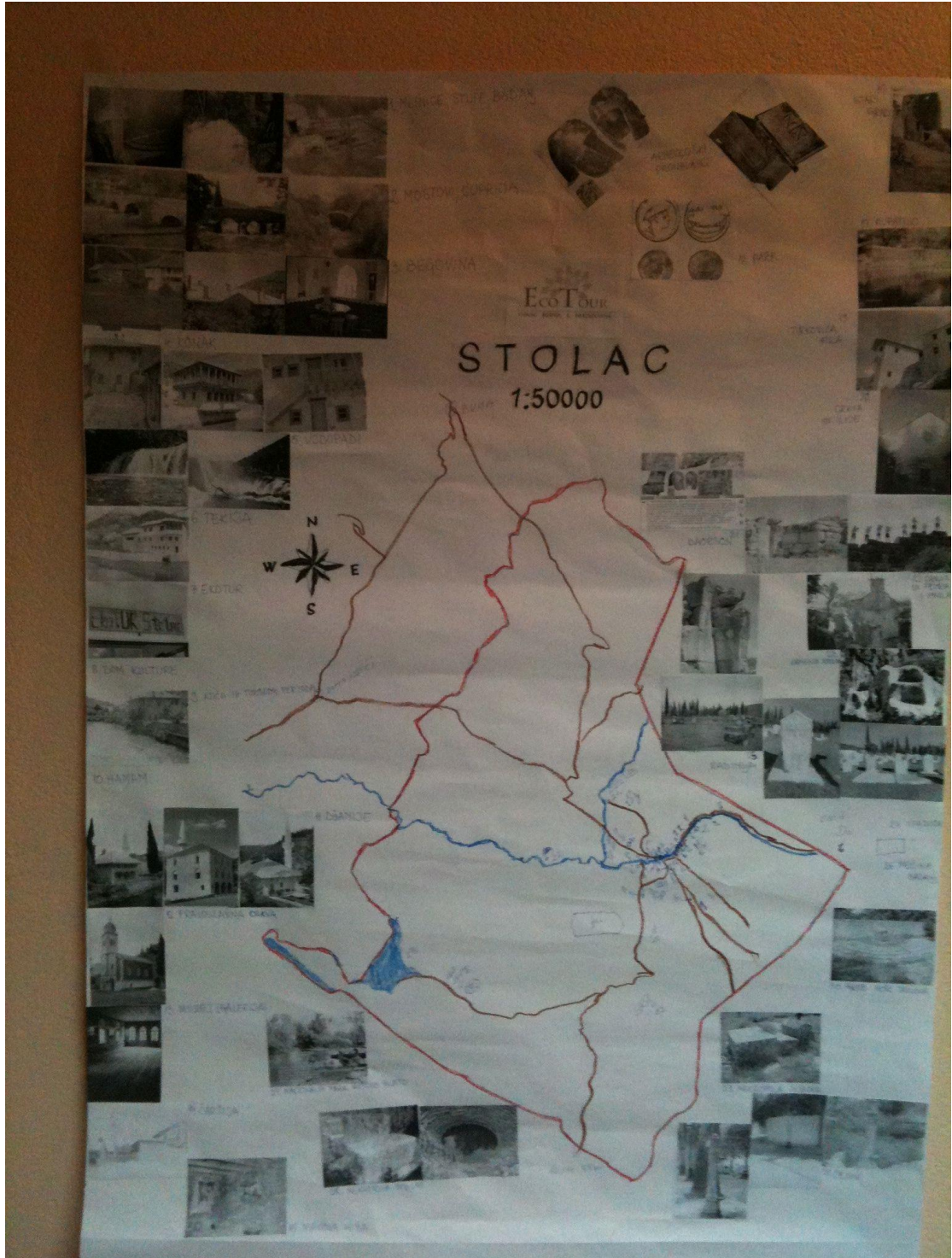
⁹⁴ In my hometown Novi Sad, I came across this practice. The mother of a local Catholic priest, who was an old woman from the Kotor Varoš area, was heavily tattooed. This was the first time I had seen an old woman with tattoos but, at the time, I was very young and I couldn’t make any sense of it.

Stolac and adjacent municipalities. The local Muslim population used narratives about local landmarks that gave meaning to the community that existed before the war and the culture they wanted to bring back to life. This knowledge of local heritage and the importance of the environment are exclusive to those who were not long-term residents of the community. I conducted a focus group with a local NGO, whose work concentrates on the environment, to draw a map of how they characterised the present and the future of the community. The map they produced portrayed the communal landmarks they wish to work on restoring, which, in their view, are essence of the community. The map is shown in the figure below.

River Bregava is one of the key reference points for the pre-war residents. Authentic watermills built on the river, in the past they were a source of revenue for the families who owned them and where local crop producers used to bring corn and wheat to be ground into flour. The families usually owned the land around the watermills, too, stretching from their houses and yards, across the road to the riverbank. They add to the distinctive appearance of the town. As a consequence of modernisation, when grinding as the main purpose of *mlinice* was abandoned, a new kind of trade developed – washing carpets and blankets. Each *mlinica* has access to Bregava via stairs and many of them have *stupe*, a mechanism of wooden mallets that was used for washing carpets and blankets in the river. *Mlinice* are one of the cultural symbols of Stolac that represent family history, land ownership, and, for some, livelihoods. Their symbolic meaning, deeply embedded in the local cultural narratives, poems and novels makes them one of the defining features of place attachment, which I will discuss later in the thesis. This potent cultural symbolism is captured in a story by Hamid Dizdar about a local *stupar* called Adem Krnjo, for whom “... stupe and around stupe...” is the essential meaning of life (Fahrudin Rizvanbegovic, Slovo Gorčina, 2007). *Mlinice* also had an important construction role in the building of the bridges across Bregava, another distinctive feature of the town. Each bridge has a story about how they came into existence; some of them based on historical facts and others are legends, such as

the Sara Kašiković Bridge (Muhamed Elezovic, Slovo Gorčina, 2007). In their ruined form they are a symbolic and physical reminder of the recent violence.

Figure 6: Focus Group - Map of Stolac



I met one of the local men for an interview, and he took me to visit the old Hellenic town of Daorson even though it was late in the day. The beautiful stone ruins were easy to access and it felt strange standing there and thinking that they were built thousands of years ago. However, there was something else more concerning. A little house where a guard (and possibly a guide) for the site is supposed to sit was in ruins. The door was open, the furniture destroyed and burnt, the TV was broken, and there was shattered glass and rubbish everywhere. At this point I could not conclude whether this was just a senseless act, or there was something more to it, particularly because I had seen similar destruction of the plaque at the fortress, which could be understood as an “overt form of resistance” (Lubkemann 2005) against the reconstruction of local cultural heritage sites and landmarks.

Figure 7: Mlinica - Carpet-washing place in Stolac (Author’s photo 2012)



At the same time, these acts of petty vandalism also pointed to possible weaknesses of the local economic situation where a high rate of unemployment and alcohol and drug abuse can lead to increased crime rates, particularly among young men (Moser 1998). This transition from an intellectual, philosophical discussion of Stolac as a 'sacred place' (Mahmutcehajic 2011) to a very mundane act of vandalism was rather shocking and soured me into thinking how do we situate and understand a place with its many overlapping worlds? My host, rather angrily, explained that this was the doing of 'local drug addicts' and told me a story about how he recently got into a confrontation with a group of youths who were sitting in a car by the road and smoking cannabis. Appearing to be on a solitary mission of maintaining 'local law and order' it was difficult to attach this image to that of a soldier who, during the war, terrorised the local population. His name is not attached to killing someone during the war, but he took part in many wrongdoings against the local Muslim population during the war. On a positive note, he was the first one who came to Mostar after the war and started interacting with the expelled Muslims who were living there. Someone who was de facto involved in the war destruction of the town was now significantly concerned about it.

4.1.1. Local Spaces And Neighbourhoods

The essence of the local community lies in the fact that activities and institutions are set within its geographic boundaries. This raises an important question of how the municipality division by the IEHL affected different elements of the community. The town Stolac is the main urban centre of the Stolac municipality bordering Republic Srpska, municipalities of Ljubinja and Berkovići. Roughly 80% of the municipal land is used for agriculture and livestock breeding,⁹⁵ especially the fertile lands of Dubrava plateau. The municipality was divided by the IEHL in the ratio of 49%-51%, the same ratio as in the Federation of BiH and RS at the state level. This division was territorial and inaccurate according to a number of the pre-

⁹⁵ Strategy of Economic Development of Stolac Municipality (2006)

war residents, which created vast amounts of uninhabited land. Because of this, many pre-war residents, without being moved from “the hearth” of their pre-war homes, have been moved administratively to the municipality of Berkovići in Republic Srpska. This move had many practical implications for people’s everyday lives and activities, such as which school their children will attend, the fact that the official language in RS is Serbian, and changes to the health and social welfare services they were using in Stolac before the war: all this has now been moved to Ljubinje or *Berkovći*. People found moving these central aspects of their lives quite challenging and they tried to avoid it by taking-up temporary residence in Stolac, where they lived in rented accommodation, but which gave them an official address in the town.

The territory that was allocated to RS or Berkovići municipality, in my opinion, had around 3-4,000 inhabitants. It’s a large area but not very densely populated. There are more, woods, hills and so on, mountains. (Interview municipal official ST130412)

Despite being a small town with three main streets, it has many neighbourhoods, each with a particular name. The neighbourhoods are not administratively or formally defined but their inhabitants and wider community know their physical boundary. They could not explain how they knew. Each neighbourhood has a name: Luka (where I lived during my fieldwork), Poplašići at the eastern entrance to the town from the direction of Bileća with Sara Kašiković Bridge across the river leading to an old demolished complex of Begovina. Coming back towards the town centre are the neighbourhoods of Kukavac, Podgledje, Ćuprija and Behmenluk. A long street in the southern part of the town, following the road to Trebinje and Dubrovnik, is a neighbourhood called Uzinovići. The centre of the town and older neighbourhoods were a mix of old, historical buildings and mosques with newer, modern looking houses that still retained some of the traditional house design. Given that Stolac had among the highest level of material damage in BiH, many of the buildings were changed in the reconstruction process.

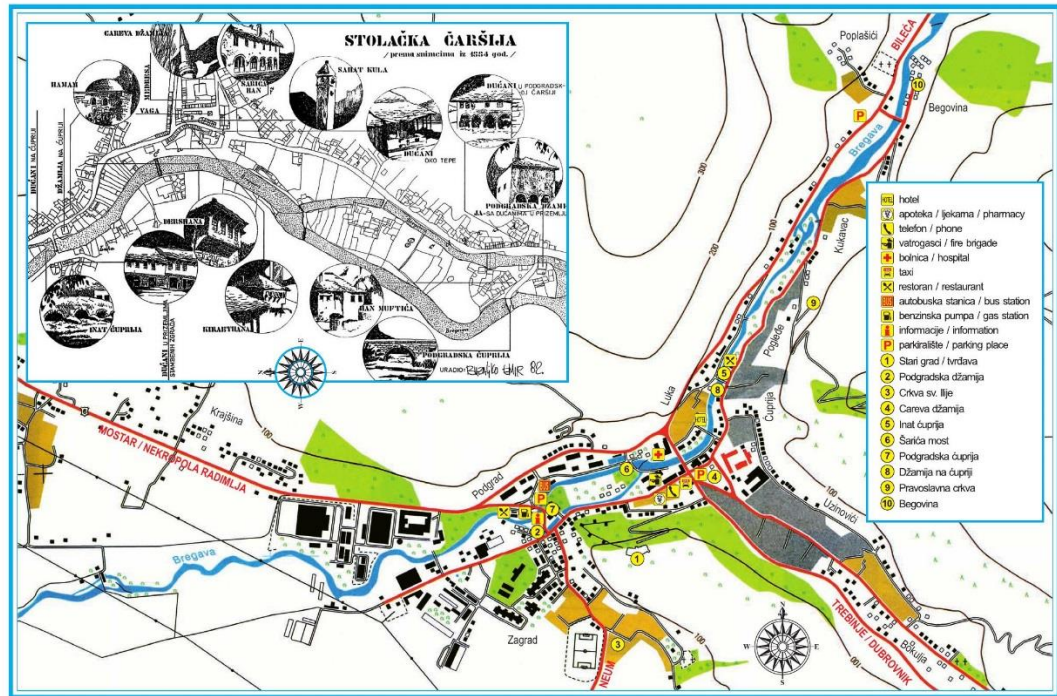
To the other side of the town centre is Zagrad, on the road to Neum, which is home to the Catholic Church and the local football pitch. The last big street along the river leads to the former Orthopaedic Hospital ending in the abandoned industrial complexes lying along the road at the north-west entrance to the town, following the main road to Mostar. Some of these neighbourhoods consist of 10-20 houses, while others have clusters of three or four storey buildings, mainly dating from the 1970s, when the town was in full economic boom and newly built factories started employing from a few hundred people to over 1,000 workers who needed accommodation. As a result, the factories started investing in property development and building blocks of flats in what used to be common property agricultural land.⁹⁶ I lived in a flat in one of the buildings that used to belong to 'Željezara' (Steel) Factory and everyone in the town knows it by that name, located in the neighbourhood called *Ćuprija*. When explaining where someone lives, people would refer to a specific neighbourhood. "Did you talk to so and so?" they would ask me and continue explaining that "he lives in *Luka*." This familiarity with the place and particularly their knowledge of everyone's place of residence and, presumably, details of peoples' personal lives, shows a strong sense of interawareness among community members in Stolac, which indicates that the pre-war community has been maintained.

In the interviews, people always mentioned in which neighbourhood they grew up and where they were living at present. In the local language there are two words for neighbourhood: *komšiluk* and *mahala*. Socially, the neighbourhoods are perceived at the same private and intimate level as kin and family and people commonly refer to their neighbourhood as their primary place of attachment. "*Uzinovići is my mahala. That is where I grew up.*" (ST220812) Anthropologists such as Bringa (1991, 1995) and Sorabji (2008) have outlined the cultural and social significance of *komšiluk* in BiH. To reflect the nature of the communal changes, this study focuses on the spatial aspect of the neighbourhoods and explains in what way they are facilitating interactions between the community members. It will particularly pay attention to the neighbourhoods built for the new

⁹⁶ Personal conversations. Old photos from the period.

settlers, the implications for local life, and discuss how new people settle in the communities.

Figure 8: Stolac Town Map



The previous two sections summarised territorial and spatial aspects of the two communities, explained the use of symbols and the meaning that is given to the local cultural heritage, even though it was destroyed during the war. The aim of discussing the relevance of space is to investigate the boundaries that exist in the town and that clearly distinguish two communities: the pre-war residents and the new settlers, whose group boundary is coincident with that of an ethnic group. The boundary of local spaces is in fact a boundary of prior familiarity with the town in a way that is impossible for the new settlers, whose sentiment for the town and local ethnocentrism is only beginning to form. For this reason, the town is not their community.

4.1.2. Politics Of The Local

As I explained earlier, the aim of this chapter is to understand the boundaries and different communities that may exist in the towns. It was also to investigate other elements of the communities, such as local institutions, and to understand whether and to what extent they reflect the post-war macro-level nationalist setup. The social theories developed by Toennies, Simmel and Durkheim outlined in the theoretical chapter are explicit in the argument that community is different to society, yet the literature on BiH suggests that ethnic divisions based on nationalist ideologies cascade down to the smaller units of social organisation, such as community. In Stolac, local institutions are formally segregated as a result of the DAP between Bosniacs and Croats, based on the constitutional setup of the Federation of BiH as a shared entity between these two ethnic groups. The first interview I held in Stolac confirmed this was a major problem, particularly school segregation, but the interviewee said that children don't support this and gave me an example of an event when a former High Representative, Miroslav Lajcak, who held this post between 2007 and 2009, visited the school. A debate was organised for this occasion, in which about 100 pupils participated. One of the girls spoke publicly, saying that she wouldn't mind at all going to school with other (ethnic group) children. (ST090412) In her study of Mostar Gymnasium Hromadzic (2011) argued that school is a space that has the greatest potential to overcome ethnic divisions.

However, formal segregation is rigidly maintained, both in primary and secondary schools, under the system called 'Two schools under one roof' (UNICEF). Muslim and Croat children attend school in the same building located in the town centre but they are physically separated and follow two different curriculums, have separate school entrances and don't go to school at the same time. One group attends school in the morning, while the other one attends in the afternoon. There is Primary School Stolac with the curriculum in Croatian language and First

Primary School Stolac⁹⁷ with the Bosnian curriculum, both situated in a building located in the town centre. During my fieldwork a human rights NGO “Vaša Prava” initiated a court case against the school segregation in Stolac on the grounds that it was not constitutional. The Municipal Court in Mostar ruled that the school has to be integrated because ethnic segregation of children provokes discrimination. However, Stolac Municipality appealed against the ruling, which was subsequently overruled by the Hercegovina-Neretva Cantonal Court. Finally, the primary ruling was upheld by the Federation’s Supreme Court and suspension of the school segregation, not only in Stolac but in other municipalities too, was ordered in October 2014. However, according to the official website of Stolac Municipality, which I visited in April 2016, it still only provides information about the Primary School Stolac (in Croatian language) and there is no mention of the First Primary School, which has a separate website⁹⁸.

It was outside the scope of this study to interview school children about their views on segregation. However, I interviewed Directors of the two primary and the secondary schools. The Director of the Primary School Stolac maintained very strongly that Croat children need to be able to attend school in Croatian language and seemed unwilling to compromise on this, saying this is what parents wanted, too (ST150413). She said that she never compared the two school curriculums, although she thought the difference was in language only and not in the content. She also emphasized there were three Roma and two Serb⁹⁹ children attending the school out of total of around 400. This claim was contrasted with the statement by the director of the other primary school that some Roma children attempted to enrol into the Croatian programme, but they were rejected and his school accepted them. She also maintained that interpersonal relations between the employees were good and that when the school opened in 1993, all the employees who were

⁹⁷ <http://www.os-stolac.ba/index.php/9-glavno/292-obavijest-o-upisu-u-prvi-razred-2016-17> (last accessed 21/04/2016)

⁹⁸ <http://www.prvaosnovnaskola-stolac.edu.ba/index.php/kontaktirajte-nas> (last accessed 21/04/2016)

⁹⁹ I had a random meeting with the father of one of the two Serb children, who is a local policeman. He told me that his daughter is attending the school with the Croatian curriculum because he was hopeful that it will give her better prospect for the future as she will be able to attend a university in Croatia, which is part of the EU.

there at the time had the opportunity to stay employed. The only problem, as I discussed earlier in the thesis, is that the Muslim pre-war population was already evicted and most of the other pre-war residents left as well, so it is highly unlikely that there were many left to keep their jobs. The Director of the First Primary School, which follows a curriculum in the Bosnian¹⁰⁰ language, was in favour of the idea of the integration of the two schools than his Croatian counterpart. In his words *"The children would do really well if tomorrow the school was integrated."* And he continued *"In our school we teach them both Cyrillic and Latin writing. Why put children in a situation that they can't read what is written, language is affluence"* (ST190413).

These interviews confirmed that schools are indeed segregated and that some parents uphold this approach, although this was not easily confirmed in the ordinary interviews where I often heard claims that, at home, children are taught not to uphold ethnic segregation. In contrast, the parents claimed that *"It is the public institutions, such as schools and shops, which teach them to hate each other"* (ST190413). The local nursery officially governed by the Municipal Council is also segregated. I interviewed the Director, who is a wonderful woman, but is also a dedicated professional who is considerably devoted to the well-being of children. She repeatedly affirmed that the nursery, for children 0-6, is open to all the children in the town, irrespective of their ethnic group. (ST120412) She also maintained that the main reasons why children don't attend nurseries and pre-primary education is that people lack financial resources for this, but also that it is common in the local cultural milieu for grandparents look after the little ones before they start school. Yet, at some point during the interview, upon my prompting, she mentioned that children are required to say a Catholic prayer before their meal. This was followed by a story that they had one Muslim child attending the nursery, but the parents withdrew them after discovering the compulsory Catholic prayer that children are asked to do before lunch. The Director added that the child was never forced to pray: they just had to sit and wait until the other children had done so. She, herself, is a Croat in a mixed marriage

¹⁰⁰ Bosnian language is the mother tongue of the BiH Bosniaks (Bošnjaci).

and was a refugee during the war, fleeing out of fear for her husband's life. She used to work at the same nursery before the war, too.

I heard stories about the local health centre being segregated, too, which was also reported by Kolind (2008). The 'Croat' one was on the premises of the pre-war health centre, while the 'Muslim' one was located in Uzinovići and both were alleged to only accept patients of one or the other nationality, which I discovered when I visited both institutions. Having two health centres in one municipality is unusual because of the way they are financed in the BiH health system framework. On the visit to the main health centre, I learned it was open to all residents of the municipality, registered returnees and refugees. The interviewee, one of the employees, highlighted continuous financial struggles, problems with public procurement and lack of qualified staff. As an illustration, she mentioned there being only one dentist for the 13,200 residents of Stolac. (ST230412) As time passed, I got into a habit of asking every interviewee which health centre they go to and they all confirmed attending the central one. The 'Muslim' health centre was opened in exile on 16th January 1996, according to the main nurse in the small village of Gnojnice, close to Mostar, where the Stolac residents were displaced (FG240812). All of the services were separate at the time: social services, health and care for patients. The official registration of the health centre occurred on 20th May 1997. It was given their official stamp and account number and from the first day the health centre was supported by the *"... Health Bureau here, on the east side¹⁰¹ of Mostar..."* This means that the institution was financed by the Health Bureau in Mostar, and still formally is. According to the employees, they are still registered as the 'Health Centre Stolac in exile with formal (temporary) residence in Gnojnice'. When exiled Stolac residents started returning under the pilot project, the health centre opened health stations here, in the town, and in the villages Rotimlja, Piješevac and Uzinovići. *"Here [...in Uzinovići...], the centre was located in Mirza's house. We used to come here [Gnojnice] to work every morning which lasted for 2-3 months until two of our workers joined the pilot project and moved to live in*

¹⁰¹ At the time, Mostar was divided into the 'Croat' West and the 'Muslim' East Mostar, with Neretva as a natural border between them.

Stolac" (FG240812). The main purpose of the health centre was to provide services to the returnees while the town was physically divided and the tensions were running high, but it is now open to all residents, the same as the other health centre.

Because of the presence of a 'master narrative' of rigorous ethnic segregation and discrimination that I failed to confirm in qualitative interviews, I decided to test the findings in my household survey, which asked questions about being discriminated from access to jobs, services or unfairly treated on ethnic bases. 94% of the respondents in Stolac and 82.1% of the respondents in Kotor Varoš stated they had never received unfair treatment from the service providers in their respective municipalities. Most of those who were employed also stated that they never received unfair treatment at their workplace, although only 32% of the survey respondents in Stolac and 62.3% in Kotor Varoš declared themselves as unemployed. Interestingly, 98% of the survey respondents in Stolac and 94.7% in Kotor Varoš reported they were never discriminated on ethnic or religious grounds when applying for a job. At the same time, 13.3% of the respondents in Stolac and 7.3% of those in Kotor Varoš completely agreed with the statement "People in this community get discriminated in job allocations because of their ethnicity." The answers indicate the difference between people's perceptions of ethnic segregation, the way they interpret these issues and the reality of the situation based on their experiences. Moreover, there is a difference between those who are permanent residents and community members and those who are not. In the conclusion of this chapter I will discuss the politics of the local and their implications for community formation.

4.1.3. New Neighbourhoods – Vidovo Polje

This section discusses physical boundaries new 'old' and 'new' Stolac. In order to house the new settlers in the town, there was a need to build new neighbourhoods, which were established as territorially bounded and remote units. Bruhn

(2011:80) states that “[t]he concept of neighbourhood is fundamentally bound by a sense of place.” I will argue in the following section that by creating territorially remote new neighbourhoods, the local authorities segregated new settlers from the rest of the town and community, thus for them, a sense of place is not related to the town as a whole. This presents one of the major obstacles to the post-war community formation as it obscures some of the elements of the community model such as activates, mutual aid and interactions.

Figure 9: Vidovo Polje (Author's Photo 2012)



For Stolac, a prominent change occurred to the town’s organization with the construction of a new neighbourhood called Vidovo Polje, located on the outskirts to accommodate new settlers. It is built on agricultural land that, before the war, belonged to the former state-owned company agricultural production facility Hepok d.d. Mostar. In 1994, using political manipulation and the circumstances of the war, the company was divided to several joint-stock companies, including the

wine-making company Vinarija Stolac, which came into possession of all agricultural land in Stolac Municipality once belonging to Hepok d.d. Mostar.¹⁰² After the war, the local authorities had to find a spot for building housing for the new settlers and Vinarija Stolac ceded part of its land with vineyards to the municipal property to be turned into land for housing. Losing the vineyards provoked strong grievances among the pre-war population on their return, because they were part of the landscape and local economy and perhaps more importantly, part of pre-war local life. This was a widely discussed topic and several people urged me to walk to the Old Town on the hill because I would be able to see Vidovo Polje from this higher vantage point (photo above).

The neighbourhood has around 350 houses, ten in each street, that were built as a home for IDPs mainly from Kakanj, Konjic, Vareš and Zenica. It was built with financial grants from the Republic of Croatia¹⁰³, distributed through public tenders managed by Stolac local authorities. In my first interviews with the residents, they told me the housing was for Croats and that local Muslim residents could not apply for it; although, according to one person with whom I had an informal discussion, neither the tenders nor application documents specified the nationality of the inhabitants. The houses were built for the new settlers from central Bosnia and according to several interviewees they got them almost for free. I interviewed local municipal official, responsible for the return and settlement.

'It is almost impossible to find building land in the centre of the town. Even if you want to make only one house, it is very difficult to find a building plot for that. It is possible only if you purchase an existing house (destroyed in the war), demolish it and build a new one in its place. There were some cases like that but not many. But why would anyone buy a property if you can get one for free? (ST130412)

He continues by describing the new neighbourhoods and how they were built.

So, these new settlers mainly live in these newly built colonies that before the war didn't exist at all. There are whole new neighbourhoods such as in Hodovo. They are completely new, self-standing adjacent to villages or neighbourhoods that existed before. Separation wasn't the purpose [...of this

¹⁰² Interview with Director of "Hepok d.d. Mostar"

¹⁰³ Information from the Municipal Authorities and Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia

type of building...], but it is related to configuration of the terrain, many hills, it is not easy to find a place where to build a house, unless you bought an existing one and used the land to build on it) '. (ST130412)

I could not get confirmation from other local authorities whether the houses were indeed for Bosnian Croats who arrived as IDPs, because they refused my attempts to meet or conduct an interview. However, some respondents who live in Vidovo Polje contradicted this view, saying that, in fact, many inhabitants are not IDPs from other municipalities in BiH, but local Croats, pre-war population, who migrated from rural areas. As I showed in my discussion of the population structure, the majority of Croats used to live in the rural areas of the Stolac municipality. According to my interviewees, the new housing posed the opportunity to move to the town and obtain a new property for a small amount of money while at the same time keeping their existing rural properties. The location of this neighbourhood was partly owing to the lack of space for new houses in the town centre. The construction of the new neighbourhood became a source of bitterness owing to the perceived injustice that new settlers received their houses almost for free (even though this information was not correct), while the returning pre-war population had to struggle to fix their houses with very little or no help from authorities. This perceived discrimination is the first boundary I encountered upon arriving to the town and it extends over many other spheres of life that I investigated.

Vidovo Polje is built on the outskirts of the town with no public transport, which leaves it completely isolated organisationally and spatially. It would normally take me around half an hour of walking to get there for the interviews. This distance represents a serious challenge for the elderly residents and all those who lack transport. As one of the interviewees explained:

I am speaking for myself, for me it is too far, I have no car, and I am old. I am not any more for [...walking in the...] sun, my legs hurt. They say I look well but that's only on the surface [... while on the inside it's all rotten...] Age is doing its deed, bones getting weaker, strength fading. It is not far for someone with a car. [...If I had one...] I would go for coffee. I don't know, for me it is far. Already the whole of this month I haven't paid the bills, how to do it. Blazing

sunshine, what if I get sunstroke; what will happen to me, living on my own here. (ST27061)

Post-war local authorities were faced with a situation where they had to find a rapid solution for housing new settlers who were living in other people's houses or temporary accommodation at the end of the war. With the property restitution policy prescribed in the Dayton Peace Agreement, the housing situation for the new settlers had to be resolved by building new houses and neighbourhoods in places where they did not exist before. Similar settlements were also built in other parts of the municipality.

Three or four new settlements arose in our municipality, completely new settlements, mainly for population that moved to the territory of our municipality during the war. These settlements are Vidovo Polje, Bobanovo Selo, and Hodovo, new settlement in Hodovo, and few minor ones. (ST130412)

The distance between the town and the neighbourhood is particularly problematic in the summer months when the outside temperature reaches between 40-50 degrees Celsius in the sun and walking even in more shaded areas becomes impossible during the day. Because of the spatial disposition of this neighbourhood, people who live there are not orientated towards building relationships with the 'town folk' and their constant interaction is orientated towards people in their neighbourhood or, more commonly, in the street on which they live. Clearly, Vidovo Polje was built with the intention of creating a cohesive factor for its inhabitants but at the same time it created an 'outgroup' of those who are not part of the neighbourhood. Creating a physical boundary through the location of the neighbourhood produced an obstacle to local interactions, which I will discuss in later chapters, particularly for those people who have never lived in other parts of the town and who did not get a chance to forge connections with the broader place. Even in the neighbourhood, many still do not know each other and they are likely to only interact with their immediate neighbours on the street. Furthermore, all the facilities they need to visit on weekly or daily basis, like the post office, bank, school, GP and shops are located in the town centre, as well as many cafés where people socialise. Below is a map that shows new neighbourhood

of Vidovo Polje, shaded in blue, and the neighbourhood of Uzinovići, where the pre-war population was returning during the Pilot Project. The centre of the town is where Uzinović Street starts.

Figure 10: Vidovo Polje (Author's map)



4.2. Kotor Varoš

Kotor Varoš is a peri-urban town and municipality located in northern Bosnia, not far from Banja Luka. I arrived to the town in early September 2012 with the intention to find accommodation and spend the next few months conducting my research. However, this proved to be quite challenging. In Stolac, I was staying in a

flat owned by a friend of one of my interviewees, whom I met in Sarajevo during the study's pilot phase and whom I interviewed about the situation in Stolac. In Kotor Varoš, I didn't have anything arranged in advance and only one personal contact who was recommended by a friend from UNICEF, who also worked on some of their programmes. Because I didn't want my study to be associated with UNICEF, and it wasn't in anyway connected to the organization, I presented myself in the researcher capacity and I used this contact privately. I was planning to book myself into the only local hotel until I could find appropriate accommodation; but when I attempted to get a room, the receptionist, a man, asked me if I needed it during the day and if I will be using it alone. It was very clear that a single female asking for a room wasn't a common sight, or at least not in the way that they were used to. Because of this, I decided to book myself into a hotel in nearby Banja Luka and drive back to Kotor Varoš every day until I found accommodation. The contact person, who also became a key informer, kindly agreed to help me with the search and, at the same time, provide information about the town.

Kotor Varoš is a typical mountainous Bosnian town, which looks very different to my previous fieldwork location at first glance. The architecture is a combination of houses and buildings with flats that are quite modern in appearance. Unlike in Stolac, I didn't see many damaged buildings in the town, or rather none that were immediately observable. I have seen many demolished houses on the road to the town, driving through the municipality, but not in the town itself. The town has a significant Muslim returnee population and according to the international organisations that I spoke to earlier in Sarajevo, including UNICEF, UNDP and the delegation of the European Commission, who had projects in Kotor Varoš, it was a positive example of good inter-ethnic relations and successful recovery. It also has a significant number of IDPs who arrived from mainly western Bosnian municipalities and who were predominantly Serbs. I will discuss the implications of the population change later in the thesis. One of my first interviewees told me about newly built neighbourhoods that, according to her, had at least 1,000 dwellers, all of which were Serbs. She also explained that there was a significant migration of Serbs from rural areas. To retrace my research steps from Stolac, I

was first interested in investigating where the communal boundaries lie. Because Kotor Varoš is much bigger than Stolac, it didn't feel like I would be immediately visible as a foreigner and there was no need for me to walk around the town to give people a chance to get used to my presence. The street layout is different, as the houses and the public spaces such as the cafés and local shops are lined up along the main road. The road was busy and the environment was vibrant, giving the area a more urban feel than Stolac. As in Stolac, there is a river, called Vrbanja, which flows in the direction of Banja Luka. It is named after willow¹⁰⁴ trees. According to local people, the railway network was built around the river to support extractive industries during Austro-Hungarian period of 1878-1914. The first visible serious damage is in a little valley across the river Vrbanja. Later, I discovered that this part of the town is called Kotor and it had a predominantly Muslim population before the war. Every house in this neighbourhood has been destroyed and the worst violence during the war happened in this part of the town.

Kotor Varoš is also an old town. The first written documents about its existence date back to the 14th century. During its history, the town expanded and incorporated, pertinently, Catholic Kotor and Turkish Kotor, alongside Slatina, Čepak and Varoš. The first time it was mentioned under its current name was in 1889. This shows that Croats and the Muslim population predominantly inhabited the town, similar to what Durham (1928) recorded in his exploration of the region. With centuries of local dwelling, people have long and deep-rooted attachments to the town and this is the element of continuance, or ability to persist in time, one of the key components of the community model. Despite its long history and traditions, Kotor Varoš is not, and was not before the war, an important historical site such as Stolac. It was among the poorest in BiH before the war with local GDP being only 29.43% of the BiH average in 1982; because of this, it was categorised as an extremely underdeveloped municipality. The GDP rose to 56% of the BiH average in 1991 and the municipality progressed to the category of underdeveloped municipality. It was an industrial town with the factories for wood and leather production, shoe manufacturing and other smaller productions.

¹⁰⁴ Vrba in Bosnian.

Figure 11: Kotor Varoš - Municipality Map



4.2.1. Local Spaces and Neighbourhoods

The town of Kotor Varoš is located along the main road, the M-4, which connects Banja Luka with Tešanj, Teslić and Doboj. It is the main urban centre of the Kotor Varoš municipality bordering the Federation of BiH, municipality of Travnik. As mentioned in the introduction, the municipality has not been divided by the IEHL as a result of the DAP, despite the fact that the front line of fighting was on its outskirts. Unlike in Stolac, there has not been a significant change in people's lives in terms of which school will children attend, and the health and social welfare services they used before the war. The material damage that I found so striking in Stolac was less present in Kotor Varoš: around 50% of the town had been destroyed, but it didn't affect the public buildings. Kotor Varoš has ten *mjesne zajednice*, self-governance units that provide power, typically to larger villages or groups of villages. They don't exist in Stolac, which means that in Kotor Varoš there is a degree of freedom from local authorities in the matters of daily life, local services and small investments.

The town centre is mix of houses and flats in small two or three story buildings. It is spread across two main streets. The first one is the main road from the town's entrance to its end called Cara Dušana (King Dušan) and all the shops, local institutions and cafés are lined on it, as well as the main Mosque Kotor Varoš, catholic church of "Birth of Virgin Mary" and Orthodox church "Birth of blessed Virgin Mary". Coincidentally, or not, both churches carry the name of the Virgin. The town has two mosques, both of which were destroyed during the war but later rebuilt. One is located in Donja Varoš neighbourhood and the other one is in Kotor. The café Palazzo, where I used to spend lot of time on a daily basis and where I conducted many interviews, is located half way between the two churches. Perhaps because the winter was closing in on the town and the weather was rather cold, people were not sitting outside the cafés anymore and I couldn't get the same impression as I did about Stolac. It was soon clear that observation was going to pose a challenge and this proved to be the case until I returned the next spring, in 2013, to conduct the second leg of the fieldwork and implement the household

survey. The other main street leads to the newly built settlement for the refugees and IDPs on the eastern side of the town. In the same manner as in Stolac, the neighbourhoods are not administratively or formally defined but their inhabitants and everyone in the community know their physical boundaries. The term that people commonly use there for neighbourhood is *komšiluk*, which differs from the expression *mahala* used in Stolac. Later, during the interviews, I noticed that local Muslims were more inclined to use the term *mahala*. Like in Stolac, neighbourhoods and parts of the town have a specific name. Kotor, on the west side of the river Vrbanja, which used to be home to the Muslim population as well as Donji Varoš on the north side of the town from the direction of Banja Luka, where the main Mosque and also where the Islamic community offices are. To the east are Ripište and Bare, a new neighbourhood. After spending few days in the town conducting interviews, a few people mentioned Old *čaršija*, so I went looking for it. I found secluded and rather rundown staircase with two flights of stairs that leads to a beautiful small piazza, which has been reconstructed since its destruction in 1992. Some old houses that resemble those in Stolac from the Ottoman period are still not in use. Unlike in Stolac, the local authorities reconstructed this area, which shows the completely different attitude of the local authorities, despite being governed by the Serbian nationalist parties SNSD and SDS.

4.2.2. Local Organisational Setup and Integrated Services

Unlike Stolac, Kotor Varoš is not and has not been formally segregated as a place or its institutions. Two schools 'under one roof' principle was not used in Republic Srpska as a unitary Serbian entity, but provisions were made for minority groups to have a so-called national group of subjects in their language. This would mean that Muslim children would have the right to learn in the Bosnian language and follow a so-called 'Bosnian curriculum'. According to one key informant, learning at school is in Serbian only, but children are not forced to attend religious instruction. This meant that returnees and the pre-war population had access to one set of communal services and their movement was around town was not

limited upon their arrival. Earlier, I discussed symbolism and its use in Stolac and this was something I was interested to discover in Kotor Varoš, too. Walking into the school building, I found the first example of symbolism. From the main entrance there is a big staircase with two flights of stairs leading up to the first floor where the offices are located. As I was coming out to a wide landing there was a massive altar-like setting with a picture of St. Sava with all the paraphernalia of Serbian Orthodox and Serbian nationalists surrounding it. I wasn't expecting this because the outside of the building looked quite plain and there were also no nationalist symbols in the street that I observed, except for an occasional Serbian flag. It was only after exiting the building that I also realised the school's name 'St. Sava' was written in big, Cyrillic letters across the entire sidewall of the school. Renaming the school after a Serbian Orthodox saint was a demonstration of Serbian dominance in the town. Later, in the interviews, one of the respondents discussed how difficult this was for Muslim children and for the parents as well, as a constant reminder of the situation.

Unlike in Stolac, where I could not obtain much information from the local authorities on how the neighbourhood was built, in Kotor Varoš they were very cooperative. Following my experience in Stolac, I was perhaps expecting a similar response, so I made a rather casual entrance, introduced myself and asked if I could see the Mayor, but to my surprise he was available. I waited for a little in his secretary's room, during which time several people passed and stopped to ask who I was and what my research was about. The Mayor was displeased that I did not send an official letter prior to my arrival, informing him about my research. After this initial hurdle, he offered his support and appointed one lady from administration to assist me with the research; he also approved access to all the documentation I needed. The day after, I conducted a long interview with one of the municipality employees, who was assigned by the Mayor to assist me with my research.

4.2.3. New Neighbourhood – Bare

Kotor Varoš also has a new neighbourhood built specifically for refugees and IDPs. The neighbourhood has two names - “*Bare*” (swamp) and “*Novo Naselje*” (New Settlement), because it used to be mainly reed and swamp. One of the settlers told me it was covered in grass and bushes over two meters high when they got the building plots. The site consists of around 600 households with over 1,000 inhabitants, which surprises many of the local residents. Enisa Božičković, President of the Kotor Varoš Municipal Assembly noted in our interview: “*There are around 600 households [... in the neighbourhood]. It's difficult to believe. I had no idea, until the last elections when we went to campaign locally, to hold election rallies, how big this neighbourhood was.*” In a similar way to Stolac, this neighbourhood was also built on the outskirts of the town area, which makes it spatially isolated. There is no public transport and the neighbourhood is only easily accessible for those with cars or those young enough not to mind a half-hour walk. The main road connecting the town and the neighbourhood, together with one of the main streets, was built in 2010. Some of the streets still have macadam while others had asphalt concrete, some of which was laid down during my fieldwork. There is also internet access, phone lines and street lights.¹⁰⁵ Owing to the neighbourhood's distance from the town, entirely new infrastructure for sewage, water supply and electricity had to be built. As a major and costly undertaking on municipal land, it had to be included as a capital investment¹⁰⁶ in the municipal budget. Unlike in Stolac, where people received grants in the form of basic building materials, here people had to build houses from their own resources, which caused enormous financial strain.

Unlike the town houses, which all have a small garden or a plot of land around them, houses in *Novo Naselje* are very close to each other and there is hardly any green space around them. Moreover, the houses are in different stages of

¹⁰⁵ Interview with the President of Municipal Assembly

¹⁰⁶ Document: Kotor Varoš Local Development Strategy 2005-2015

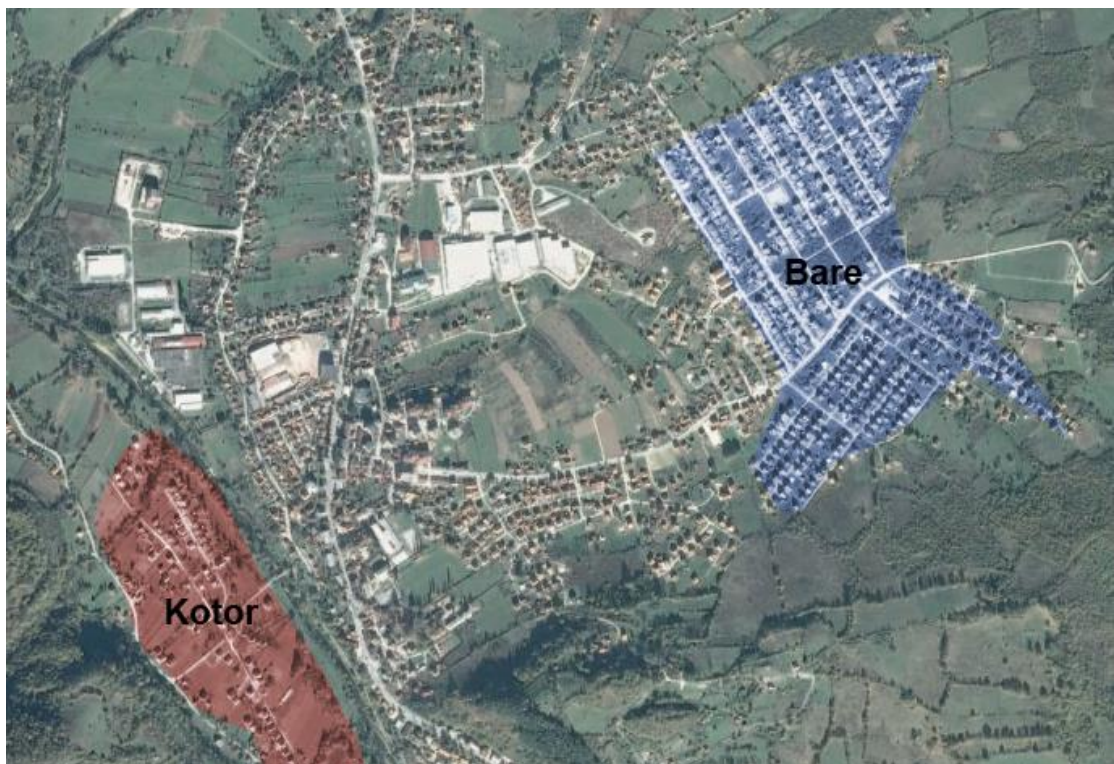
construction, and many of them still require a lot of work. For instance, they are not plastered on the outside, or lack roofs; they have no fences or gates to the backyard; and most of the streets are surfaced with dusty macadam. The first time I went to this neighbourhood was in December 2012 and it felt cold and unfriendly, with dark and empty streets and only faint lights in the windows. I stopped in a local corner shop to buy a bottle of water and I started a conversation with two men who were standing in front of the shop. They invited me to join them at the back of the shop, a small space with a roof. It was a garage with an improvised tin furnace made out of a barrel, where the two of them stood drinking beer from bottles. One of them was the shop owner, who was from Kotor Varoš, while the other one was a displaced person from Sanski Most, who had been forced out of his home in 1995 under operation "Storm"¹⁰⁷. He settled well in the town and has a job in the local tax office. The 'local' man told me how he lost his flat in Šibenik (Croatia) where he used to live before the war and how he has not been able to retrieve his property. He was bitter and angry and kept accusing me of being an English spy. He did not believe that I would just go and do this research of my own accord. When I asked why the UK Government would be interested in sending spies to BiH, he had no clear answer to that, other than big conspiracy theories against the Serbs. This story shows that settling in the new neighbourhood is not equal for all the residents and some hold strong grievances about their loss of their pre-war life.

According to the two men, and other residents whom I interviewed, establishing title to houses is a problem in Kotor Varoš, as in Stolac. All the properties are under dual ownership, whereby the municipality owns 50% of the property (land and house) while the other 50% belongs to the homeowner. This arrangement places homeowners in a position of uncertainty and stress, because of constant fear that local authorities may reverse their decision about land allocation and take away their property. At the same time, they are not able to either sell it or leave it to someone else as a legacy. During my stay in Kotor Varoš, homeowners were

¹⁰⁷ Operation Storm was a battle that took place from 4th to 7th August 1995 between the Army of Republic Croatia and Serbian Forces to recapture the territory of Republic Srpska Krajina and oust Serbian rebels. The entire Serbian population, around 300,000 people was forced displaced as well.

offered the possibility of obtaining full property ownership and this legalisation was in the process of being drafted. The neighbourhood consists mainly of private houses. There are also three buildings with apartments that, unlike the houses, were built using donations and municipal resources. One building is housing for internally displaced people who used to live in a collective centre in the town in poor conditions. The funding was provided through the Republic Srpska Ministry for Refugees, the municipality donated the building land and infrastructure, while UNHCR provided furniture and home wear. The other two buildings are for the families of killed soldiers and war invalids. On the map below, the blue shaded area is the new neighbourhood while the red shaded area is Kotor, which used to have a predominantly Muslim population and where the massacre (June 1992) took place.

Figure 12: Kotor Varoš - Bare (Author's map)



According to my discussions with local municipal officials about housing and infrastructure development and repairing the war damage, the town received a

substantial number of refugees, although they couldn't give me precise figure, but also a number of people migrated to the town from rural areas, all requiring housing. The decision to use public land for building the new neighbourhood may have been a political one but it also reflected the real needs of the population: namely, those people who made the decision not to return to their pre-war place of residence needed housing. While the reason for building the neighbourhoods in these specific places may have been purely practical and related to land availability, the planners did not prioritise social interactions and living proximity with a view to them becoming 'good neighbours and friends' with the pre-war population. This made it more difficult for the inhabitants to integrate into the pre-war town. They were marginalised spatially and many have seen this as an intentional move, primarily assigned by local authorities. In both towns the pre-war and new neighbourhoods can be understood as communities where their geographical location determines their social environment and interactions. The consequence of this is the creation of communities within communities, for which intersections are not easy to find.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the two communities as they were in 2012 during my fieldwork and to set the scene for the analysis of the post-war community. As the previous chapter argued, the war violence led to community loss through the destruction of the territorial community and social 'communality'. Because this study understands community as a 'socially inclusive and territorially oriented structure' (Hillery 1959: 241), the chapter aimed to investigate communal boundaries within and sentiment for the town. Ethnographic accounts of the places in this chapter are derived from me being both a participant and an observer, which I combined with other methods of data collection, primarily interviews and the survey. As I posited at the start of this Chapter, I envisaged the community as life in concentric circles, which share the same centre.

One aspect of the peace agreement was the country's division in two entities, which took place after the wars end. IEBL introduced by DAP divided Stolac municipality in half. As a result the territory of the pre-war municipality of Stolac was divided in half, which added to sense of loss among the local population. On the one hand it created grievances and challenges in daily life among those whose properties were territorially displaced to the new municipality of *Berkovci*, while their life still gravitated to the town of Stolac. This brought about further movement of population and forced people not to return to their pre-war houses, because provision of services, education and likelihood of employment were all based in urban centres. The territory of Kotor Varoš municipality went through minor territorial division, maintained the pre-war structure of ten *mjesne zajednice* and people still operated within the same structural and organizational framework, even if they were displaced during the war. Despite the municipal division, the town of Stolac maintained the same external territorial boundaries and so did Kotor Varoš, where the municipality was not divided. For this reason, both towns showed continuance by persisting in time and space and within its geographic boundaries. I investigated physical boundaries in the two towns, which are defined by the residents who enter and spend time in certain spaces. Boundaries created through symbols to distinguish one community group from another; through neighbourhoods; and through formal segregation. I will return to discuss how the boundaries affect interactions between the community members in Chapter Six.

Stolac has many boundaries, although they are not as explicit as I was expecting at the start of the study. First, there is the pre-war part of the town and there is the new colony, Vidovo Polje, which are territorially distant from one another. The pre-war town population is mainly located in the old town, while the new settlers live in Vidovo Polje. The neighbourhoods in the old town also have their own borders, which are clear because each neighbourhood has a name and the local residents are familiar with the boundaries. Most residents living in the old part of the town are Muslim, although I would like to raise caution here that I didn't ask interviewees about their ethnic identity and my claim about the population

distribution is based more on my observations and local narratives. Primary and secondary schools are formally segregated between Muslim and Croat children, a practice that is supported by many of the parents. However, some parents and children reported being against segregation. School segregation was ruled out by the Supreme Court of the federation of BiH, based on the case of Stolac, in 2014, but this decision has not yet been implemented to integrate the divided schools. The chapter showed that spatial changes resulting from the war and the way people settle in the specific parts of the community has a negative impact for their interactions. In Stolac, it appears that local authorities that facilitated building of the new neighbourhoods planned them in remote locations on purpose, to prevent residents from interacting with local population and for making access to the town difficult. This is a consequence of the nationalist policies of local political parties, HDZ in particular, who are strongly opposed to the idea of integration in an attempt to preserve Stolac as a “Croat” territory. The local nursery is also segregated, although it is formally open to all children. I have established that despite the claims, local health centres are not segregated and most of the residents attend the main one, situated in the building of the pre-war health centre. The one that was originally established for the returnees mainly provides services to those who live nearby, which is a much easier distance to walk in the summer months for those living locally. The employees are interested in integration with the main centre, but this has implications for their jobs, which could be laid off. Local people told me that ‘everyone’ attends this centre because the dentist service is really good there, much better than in the central one. Town residents go everywhere, depending on their ability and needs and there is no part of the town that is off-limits to anyone I met, particularly for those who live in the town permanently, which I will discuss later in the thesis. There are some cafés that are visited mainly by Croats or by Muslims, but there is also one whose visitors are only local policemen. The nature of socialising is that people go where they know someone, where their friends go. Security, which has been an issue for a long time and prevented the free movement of people, has reached a level of stability that doesn’t seem to present an obstacle to free movement.

The attempt to dominate local spaces through the use of symbols was frequently part of the local discourse of the pre-war population. A year after I finished my fieldwork, I went back to Stolac for a short visit and discovered two new buildings in the very centre of the town. One is a new Catholic convent built in the place of the old department store, with the biggest church bell I have seen anywhere in the country that rings extremely loudly, too. The building is few hundred metres from the local Mosque and surrounding complex where there is a new town clock from the Ottoman era. The original clock tower was destroyed early in the 20th century and local Muslims collected donations to rebuild it after this war. The competition over the centre of the town is a reflection of similar approaches to nationalist dominance at the national level, particularly in the Federation of BiH. Although local HDZ and SDS cooperate in the Municipal Assembly, particularly on decisions that are mutually beneficial for the local councilors, to maintain their positions and secure re-election, they encourage local divisions along ethnic lines to maintain the sense of group cohesion. Together with local religious institutions, they encourage the use of religious symbols, which I argue is not so much intended as a provocation of the local population, but as a point of cohesion of their respective ethno-religious groups, Muslim and Croats. The symbolism of these spaces, their past or present existence, is a source of strong sentiment for the pre-war population and at the same time a boundary that distinguishes them from the new settlers. Comparing the context to the Kolind's book, I can conclude that a decade after his fieldwork, the boundaries between the residents are more salient as a result of a decade long coexistence in the town. At the same time, the level of activities and free movement, which are basic elements of the community, have expanded, which means that these two crucial aspects of the community have been established and have assisted its formation. Using religious symbols can be interpreted as a way of creating as a way of creating 'commonality' among those who belong (Cohen 1985). At the same time, the local Muslim population interpreted the presence of religious symbols as a targeted provocation against them and it certainly created a boundary around the local Muslims, too. Another way of categorizing the 'local Muslims' would be to call them the pre-war local population and I think this more accurately describes them as a category. Awareness of analytical idioms (Brubaker 2004: 3) is an important aspect of this

study because one of its goals is to observe the social world of the two towns outside ethnic categories, which I complement with categories based on residence.

The territory of Kotor Varoš municipality went through minor territorial division and the damage to the town was much smaller. I discovered that the neighbourhoods are set in a similar manner to Stolac and also have their own borders, which is clear because each neighbourhood has a name and the local residents are familiar with the boundaries. There are parts of the town, like Kotor and Donja Varoš, with predominantly Muslim populations, while Serbs live in other parts of the town. According to the interviewees, the neighbourhood Rapište used to have a predominantly Croat population before the war, but many of the houses have since been sold and bought by Serbs. There are frequent references in conversations to who lives in each part of the town, but there was no insistence on defining communal spaces through ethnic determinants. There are no limitations to where people walk and where daily activities take place. The main difference is that Kotor Varoš' institutions are not formally segregated and there were no boundaries in terms of access to services, which means that local children and their parents interact on a daily basis. The situation in Stolac suggests that school segregation is not welcome by many of the town residents and that it has a negative impact on social relations; other studies have found that it generates ethnic inequality (Swee 2015). However, the local school management deprived Muslim children of being taught a curriculum in the Bosnian language, in this way discriminating against them and denying them their legally prescribed rights. I have not found such a strong discourse of town sentiment in the same way as in Stolac, but the residents had an equally strong sense of local identity.

Arrival of the new settlers, particularly to the town of Stolac, and movement of population from rural areas to the two towns, new housing had to be provided. The layout of the two towns didn't offer possibility for building new housing or neighbourhoods in central locations within the pre-war town boundaries, resulting in locating them in the outskirts of the two towns. In Stolac, new neighbourhood of

Vidovo Polje constitutes around 300 houses, designed and built for IDPs from Central Bosnia who arrived to the town during the war and after forced eviction of the local, Muslim population. They are predominantly Bosnian Croat and Catholic, while the houses were built with the assistance of the Government of the Republic of Croatia. The location of the neighbourhood doesn't provide easy access to the town and, as a result, doesn't facilitate interactions between the pre-war population, who predominantly live in the old town, and new settlers in Vidovo Polje. There are reports of people from rural areas, also Croats, obtaining building plots and assistance to move to the neighbourhood too, in the words of one inhabitant "The first two rows of the houses are all from the rural areas, where they still maintain their house and land." Because of Stolac climate and extremely hot weather that lasts from late spring until end of the summer, the town distance presents a serious obstacle for the elderly population. Similar scenario happened in Kotor Varoš, where a new neighbourhood Rapište "Bare" has been built for the internally displaced people from northwest Bosnia, and for the internally displaced from the rural parts of the municipality. In both towns, newly built neighbourhoods prevent spatial integration of the new settlers and represent both physical and social boundary that hinder community formation. This chapter problematized the role of communal spaces that have the ability to prevent the community formation and affect interactions. For those who should become new community members the challenge comes both from maintaining attachment to their pre-war place of living where many felt the house and home was left behind. Because of the new neighbourhood spaces in which they now live, a new community is being formed through their participation and daily life. For this reason, I argue in the thesis that the post-war community will be new because neither the social environment nor the space will be the same.

5. Return, Community Membership and Place Attachment

5.1. Introduction

As I argued at the beginning of this thesis, a community is as much a physical place as it is a social, and both of these dimensions are significant for an individual's sense of community. The Chapter 3 explored how war violence led to the loss of community for the town residents, through physical violence, material destruction and forced displacement. This chapter focuses on the rebuilding of physical places and the interactions between place and the social. My understanding of place is as a space "...that has been given meaning through personal, group, or cultural processes." (Altman and Low 1992: 5) As a result of the violence, place, family life, social relations and local historical bonds were disrupted through the acts of imprisonment, killing and torture, and the destruction of local architecture and houses, in combination with massive forced displacement. Both towns, Stolac in particular, became "wounded cities" in Till's phrase (Till 2012: 6), whereby they are defined as "...densely settled locales that have been harmed and structured by particular histories of physical destruction, displacement, and individual and social trauma resulting from state-perpetrated violence." Although Till's seminal paper investigates the fate of larger cities, I apply her discussion about the nature of harm against place to the two peri-urban towns that are subject of this study in order to describe their condition at the start of the post-war recovery. This chapter investigates the relevance of building and rebuilding spaces in Stolac and Kotor Varoš, suggesting that this constitutes a healing process for the towns, in which a community will emerge. I argue that this process is not linear alongside peace-building and state-building milestones, but dynamic and multifaceted, reflecting logic and flow of daily life. This process entails a return to the pre-war place of residence or settlement in a new place, and involves the reconstruction of spaces and, within them, activities and institutions that make the community.

Space, even after destruction, will retain some of its character and historical significance. As I will argue in this chapter, despite the brutal and destructive impact of the war violence, people maintained strong emotional bonds with various spaces from their pre-war lives, including the town, neighbourhood, and house, which became one of the motivating factors for communities in these spaces. In this way, an element of continuity is preserved through return and

reconstruction and it is only later that the members realised that it would in fact be a new community established within existing territorial boundaries. In his study of the links between place attachment and serial forced displacement, Fullilove (2014) posits that “...in the face of multiple trauma, deprivations and withering of trust, connection to place endures.” (p.142). It is through attachment that the significance of the space is preserved. According to Altman and Low (1992), as they demonstrated in their edited volume, places that people can be attached to vary in type and scale. This chapter shows that when it comes to the sense of community, shared history and experiences, childhood memories revolving around the house where people grew up or brought up their families, and other places with emotional connections including environment, and their neighbourhood connections are all playing important role. The analytical focus of the chapter shifts between two social levels, individual and group, where I discuss differences in attachment to personal and public spaces. Attachment between people and places is always positively framed (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001), but this chapter argues that, in the context of post-war recovery, attachment to the pre-war place for those who settled in a new place, such as Stolac and Kotor Varoš, has a negative impact on establishing a new community and becoming active in that community. The main narrative of this chapter elucidates stories using ethnographic material, interviews and the life stories of the research participants.

The majority of my interviewees had been displaced and many had lived in more than one house since they were evicted, during their displacement and after returning to Stolac or Kotor Varoš. As I began my interviews with the question, “Have you lived in this place since the end of the war?” the discussion would initially revolve around their return to the town. This is particularly true in the case of Stolac owing to the excessive damage to the housing stock. As new settlers were living in the houses of the pre-war population, the homeowners had to stay elsewhere while they waited for their houses to be vacated. This life in flux lasted anywhere from five to ten years and left people feeling exhausted and lost after already enduring the trauma of the war. The main consequence of this instability was expressed by the respondents as a wish not only to return to their pre-war place of residence but also as a need to settle in a property from which they would

not be uprooted again. Throughout the war and displacement, longing for their house was overwhelming and constantly present, as I will show later. As the process of returning home is both mechanical and emotional, I tried to think about it beyond the physical reconstruction and the concept of ‘emplacement’ (Jansen and Lofving 2009; Jansen 2009). Some residents who were internally displaced during the war decided to stay away permanently and continue their life in the place where they were resettled, which was the case in both Stolac and Kotor Varoš. There are few thousands of new inhabitants, creating a situation in which the number of people attached to the post-war place is probably very similar to the number of those who are still attached to their pre-war place of residence. For this reason, this chapter does not focus on establishing a connection between the displaced population and their pre-war homes, but rather frames the people-place connection, as the interviewees described it, as ‘being in your own (property)’ because this allows for an understanding of the experiences of the settled newcomers as well.

In my survey, one of the most commonly stated reasons for returning to the pre-war place of residence was people’s wish to reside in their own properties. Indeed, 89.8% of the survey respondents in Stolac and 95.3% in Kotor Varoš selected ‘*Da budem na svome*’ as their first choice of explaining a decision to return. This translates into English in several ways. Literally, it means ‘in my own property’; as a statement from one of the interviews explained, ‘**You** know (**you** understand) how it is to be in someone else’s house (which is not your property)’. There is also a saying in Bosnian language ‘*Biti svoj na svome*’ (To be your own (self) on your own (property)), which means to be where it feels most natural for one to be, where your roots are and where you can bond with your immediate environment. The second most common answer was ‘I didn’t feel a sense of belonging where I was (living in displacement)’, given by 48.9% of the respondents in Stolac and 18.6% in Kotor Varoš. The third most important factor respondents selected, 46.6% in Stolac and 25.6% in Kotor Varoš, was that they had to vacate the property in which they were living; therefore they had to leave, even if they liked the place. The notion of *being in your own space* can be interpreted as a sense of

belonging, both to the space and to the social world that makes it, but space was given priority by interviewees. Given that half of the survey respondents said they didn't feel sense of belonging where they were, it is possible to agree that many of the new settlers in Stolac and Kotor Varoš also lacked a sense of belonging to where they resided, as I will show later in the chapter. The fact that for the residents of Stolac the lack of a sense of belonging was their foremost concern suggested that there was a very strong emotional bond to their pre-war place of residence.

The first section of the chapter discusses the return of the displaced pre-war population to the two towns and settling in their houses; as well as how the new settlers started to set up their home in the towns. It focuses on the house as the primary space for connection and outlines the importance of house restoration as an act of continuance. At the same time, it discusses house attachment to and its relevance for community formation, and the difference between the pre-war population and the new settlers. The second section elucidates links between restoring places and spaces, and place attachment and sense of community, largely expressed by the pre-war community members in terms of memories of specific places and restoring public places that were cornerstones of past communities. I propose that for the pre-war population the loss of place through violent destruction and territorial division strengthened their attachment to the place and played a role in maintaining a sense of community.

5.2. Post-war Community Membership

"They [Croats from Central Bosnia] moved from cultivating plums and apples to growing figs and pomegranates, which they had never seen before [...until they came here...]. It is more than certain that these people are longing for their old native land." (Private conversation, Stolac)

People make places and once there is a significant change of population, places will not be the same anymore and membership change will have direct implications for the local interactions and community formation. Following the main argument of the thesis, instead of having a discussion on how ethnic composition of the communities changed, the following sections discuss the implications of the population size and the structure related to residence. The aim is to answer one of the thesis sub-questions – who are the post-war community members and what are the implications of membership change. The narrative of the chapter is partly based on my observations of daily life in the two towns and interacting with people, and partly on the evidence collected from the interviews and the survey.

I designed a household questionnaire, which included three sections of questions that allowed me to get a better sense of the community structure. To determine proportion of the locals and new settlers, I used the following determinants: place of residence before 1992; year of arrival in the town (for new settlers); year of return to the town (for the pre-war population) and place of birth to determine length of residence in the two towns. The respondents had to be born in 1977 or before, to have been 18 years of age in 1995. The youngest respondent in the survey was born in 1977 while the oldest was born in 1915. The data shows that 68% of the survey respondents in Stolac and 45% in Kotor Varoš were living in 2013 in the same place before and after the war, which means that Stolac currently has a higher proportion of the pre-war inhabitants than Kotor Varoš. The survey data shows significant heterogeneity in the new settlers group in the town, in terms of their places of origin. As the evidence from qualitative interviews suggested, there was also a movement of population from rural areas of the municipality (villages and small settlements) to the towns. In Stolac, around 13% of the survey respondents moved from the villages to the town but this figure is significantly larger in Kotor Varoš, at 31.8%. In Stolac a larger proportion of inhabitants came from other municipalities in BiH (18%) in comparison to Kotor Varoš (13%). In contrast Kotor Varoš has more inhabitants from other countries, almost 10%, which are likely to be people from Croatia, mainly Serbs, who were forced displaced from during the last year of the war in operation 'Storm' in 1995.

Table 3: Household Survey (Author's Data 2013)

		TOWN	
		Stolac	Kotor Varoš
Gender	Male	72	59
	Female	78	92
Are you the head of the household?	Yes	97	88
	No	53	63
Marital status	Single	11	7
	Married	99	106
	Widowed	36	30
	Separated	1	1
	Divorced	3	5
	Other	0	2
	Don't know	0	0
Do you have children?	Yes	135	141
	No	15	10
Is this your permanent residence?	Yes	143	148
	No	7	3
Where were you born?	This town/MZ	62	45
	Other village in municipality	53	67
	Other municipality in BiH	32	34
	Other country	3	5
Where did you live before 1992?	This town/MZ	102	68
	Other village in municipality	19	48
	Other municipality in BiH	27	20
	Other country	2	15

Next question were aimed at establishing ethnic and religious composition of the two towns. The survey results show that religious beliefs and ethnic affiliation overlap for Orthodox and Serb, and for Catholic and Croat. However, out of 86 respondents in Stolac who declared their religious beliefs as Muslim, 13 declared their ethnic affiliation as Muslim too (15%) while the rest declared it as Bošnjak (85%), apart from one person who chose 'mixed'. In Kotor Varoš, out of 49 who declared their religious beliefs as Muslim, 17 declared their ethnic affiliation as Muslim (34.7%) while the rest declared it as Bošnjak apart from one person who was 'mixed'. In other words, Muslims are religiously homogenous but heterogeneous by declared ethnic affiliation. This calls for thinking about their affiliations in the past, before the war, but also indicates that the new category of Bošnjaci is not something that people automatically accepted and were ready to identify with. As I discussed in the Chapter One, before the war, there was a difference between religious and secular Muslims, who used to describe themselves as civic Muslims¹⁰⁸. In the Former Yugoslavia, Muslims were a category that was equivalent to other *narodi*, and equality that meant to give representation to this large group of people as I discussed in the introduction of the thesis.

Table 4: Ethnic and Religious Identity (Author's Data 2013)

		GRAD	
		Stolac	Kotor Varoš
What best describes your religious beliefs?	Muslim	86	49
	Catholic	54	2
	Orthodox	7	94
	Atheist	0	3
	Other	3	3
	Prefer not to say	0	0
What best describes your ethnicity?	Muslim	13	17

¹⁰⁸ Private conversation

	Bosniak	72	31
	Serb	7	92
	Croat	54	2
	Other	3	6
	Mixed	1	3
	Prefer not to say	0	0

The data on birthplace showed several interesting trends. Only 40% of the respondents in Stolac and 30% of those in Kotor Varoš were born in the towns, while 35% in Stolac and 44% in Kotor Varoš were born in villages in rural parts of the municipality. The data shows that more respondents were living in the towns than they were born in the towns, which indicates that rural-urban migration was happening even before the war. The qualitative interviews discussed the reasons of this movement in the past, suggesting it was due either to marriage or to labour migration. People were moving to work in one of the factories located in the towns, which were established as part of the process of modernisation that took place during the 1960's and 70's in the former Yugoslavia. Movement of population, therefore, is not new to the two communities, which means that one of the elements of the model, activity, has been taking place outside the physical boundaries of the community even before the war. Denich (1974) documented the process of urbanisation resulting from industrialisation in the Užice region in central Serbia after WWII. While her work focuses on the reasons and mechanics of making the decision to undertake such a move, it also documents the economic modernisation in the 1960's that happened across the country. Many of its inhabitants migrated abroad in the 1960's to find work, as well as to the big urban centres in former BiH, particularly the capital Sarajevo, and to Zagreb and Novi Sad in the former Yugoslavia. With modernisation and opening of production facilities, some of the labour migrants returned to the town, but others remained abroad.

"Many people left in the 1960s. When the factories started to open, people started returning but many of them stayed [... abroad...]. It was time of modernisation, when 5-6,000 people were employed here in Stolac municipality. Everyone worked in Germany. I was in Germany but returned in

1991 thinking I would be better off here. My father was in Germany too, but he stayed [... he didn't return to Stolac...]" (ST190413)

Similarly, people in Kotor Varoš used to live and work mostly in Slovenia and Austria¹⁰⁹. Petresen (2002), in the earlier discussion on ethnicity, argues that modernisation and the ability to work and reside abroad provided insights into 'ethnically foreign cities', which became a main driver for the rise of ethnic mobilisation and conflict in Eastern Europe. Some of the stories provided insight into the mobility of local people but also into their attachment to their places and communities of origin, and how they never severed any of the ties, either social or material. But this information raises a more important question on the boundaries of the community. Communal borders were not rigid in the past and people from rural areas migrated to urban areas, many community members worked abroad, which means that the community was not fixed. Their children were either born in the town, or some left to live abroad as small children, or were born abroad, but in any case the migrants used to visit frequently.

5.2.1. Heterogeneity Based on the Pre-war Residence

As I elaborated in earlier in the thesis, both communities lost significant proportion of their residents who were force displaced based on their ethnicity. This resulted in Stolac losing almost all of its residents who were predominantly Muslim, and Kotor Varoš lost two-thirds of residents, Muslims and Croats. During my fieldwork and the writing of this thesis BiH held the first post-war census in 2013, producing some reliable statistics of residents, households and dwellings, which made it possible to see the population change since the last pre-war census in 1991, and I use the new census data in this chapter. Unlike many of the post-war countries, BiH is administratively and bureaucratically well organised, and the system remained functional throughout the war. Every citizen has their unique ID

¹⁰⁹ Interviews

allocated at birth (JMB¹¹⁰) and photo ID becomes compulsory at the age of 18, with a registered residence address. Normally, each person can have just one registered address, because their personal ID (*lična karta*) gives them the right to vote, free health care, access to schooling and social services at their registered address. However, to deal with the demands of people returning, after the war legal provisions have been introduced that allow people to have two official registered addresses, one where they currently live and another at their pre-war place of residence, where they intend to return. In this study, to be eligible to take part in the survey, the respondents had to be registered at an address in Stolac or Kotor Varoš. As argued in earlier chapter, one of the main reasons for the loss of 'communality', a network of the community members who were forced displaced during the war. This will help understand the post-war population structure and their sense of community, interactions and boundaries that may impede community formation. It turns out that the system allowing dual residence made it quite challenging to trace local residents, those returning formally and informally and also who resides in the town. Allowing multiple residences led to prolonged mobility of population and has negative impact on restoring social fabric, particularly at the communal level. One of the first semi-structured interviews I conducted was with a civil servant who works at Stolac Municipal Council, in the department in charge of the return of refugees and displaced population. He keeps record of their registration, request for house reparation and other relevant matters. He explained:

There is a legal provision for someone to declare an intention to return to their pre-war address of permanent residence, if the conditions for return have not been fulfilled. By this, they enter a process of return, and this is done mainly with the intention to request aid for the household restoration, family house or a flat or something else, so they can rebuild their property. A certain number of registered returnees are in this category, but not too many. It is difficult to determine whether the intention to return is genuine or not and we [... employed in this department...] can't know whether this person will really return once their property is reconstructed or if they will just sell the house. There is no way of knowing this because there is no specific binding regulation. They are free to do with their properties whatever they want, and they are also not obliged to report their intention with the property when applying for a reconstruction grant. Also, freedom of movement is guaranteed by the [BiH] Constitution so they are free to go wherever they want. This is

¹¹⁰ Jedinstveni Matični Broj

what I was going to say. People registered as returnees can easily decide to move away again after 4, 5 or 2 years. There were cases of people simply moving abroad, or to another municipality to live for different reasons, e.g. getting a job there. In that case they are not obliged to report to this municipal survives, only to CIPS¹¹¹. (Municipal Official Interview ST130412)

He also emphasised that the arrival of IDPs who settled in the town permanently was one of the most important changes in post-war communal life.

'A significant number of people migrated to the municipality, who didn't live in the territory of Stolac municipality. In my opinion there are around 2,000 inhabitants mainly from the areas of central Bosnia, municipalities of Kakanj, Zenica, Bugojno to a smaller extent, and other municipalities, which led to significant demographic changes here.' (ST130412)

In Kotor Varoš I interviewed two municipal officials who did not specify the number of the new settlers, but mentioned their significant presence and permanent settlement. In addition, one of the religious leaders in the town stated

: 'There are hardly any Croats now, and there was a good deal of them, over 10,000 [...before the war...]. Of us Bosniaks, 2-3,000 returned, and there used to be more than 10,000 -12 [...before the war...].' (KV121212)

These interviews helped me get an idea of who was living in the places and the extent of the population change. Among the ordinary interviewees, the question of population change was sometimes discussed without prompting on my part, which shows it was an important element of local life and that people have found it very significant. Based on his answers and later interviews I constructed a picture of local residents presented in the table below. The arrival of new settlers, in large numbers, as discussed in earlier chapters, created a number of challenges for the local authorities. First, they had to provide housing for the new settlers, which in both cases required building new houses in uninhabited parts of the town. Second, several interviewees suggested that the voting patterns of the new settlers led to the election of a nationalist political parties at the local level, which were

111

http://www.iddeea.gov.ba/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=92&Itemid=90&lang=en (last accessed 11/03/2016)

controlling local resources and processes. This was particularly significant in Stolac, where HDZ has been in power since the first post-war elections in 1996. In Kotor Varoš voting outcomes changed over time, because the local voters did not always vote for nationalist parties who were supposed to represent particular ethnic group, according the President of Municipal Assembly.

Table 5: Community Members (Author's Data 2013)

PRE-WAR POPULATION		NEW SETTLERS	
Stolac	Kotor Varoš	Stolac	Kotor Varoš
Living in same place as before	Living in same place as before	IDPs from central Bosnia (Croats, Catholics) or municipality	IDPs from western Bosnia or municipality
Diaspora (abroad)	Diaspora (abroad)	New spouses (of the pre-war residents)	New spouses (of the pre-war residents);
Residents in BiH, visit frequently or spend protracted periods of time in the town ("weekenders")	Working abroad, coming back every 2-3 weeks ("weekenders")	Foreigners	Labour migrants

Finally, in Stolac several respondents commented on the relevance of population numbers for preventing local post-war violence, which was extremely prevalent in the post-war years. At the start of the return process, while new-settlers groups outnumbered the returnees, violence between the two groups was prevalent. However, when the number of new residents increased enough for them to self-organise into local groups who were able to challenge the attackers and defend themselves the local violence decreased over time. As one interviewee observed: *'When we returned we were smaller than poppy seed. They called us Balija, until we became stronger in numbers [...they mistreated us...].'* I will discuss post-war violence and its outcomes later in the thesis. What is important at this point is to highlight that people were aware of the implications of the changes in population

structure and size of the different groups, which provides a broader picture of how they interpreted the outcomes of war.

Quite a lot of inhabitants mixed now, many have arrived now. You know, when you throw out 20-25,000 people and bring in few thousand new ones. When you throw out people you used to know. And the new ones are from everywhere. A village is a village, not a single one is the same. And a town is a town. It is not easy for new comers to fit in. (KV121212)

5.2.2. Culture, Interactions and Group Dominance

War and violence did not just change the population size but the population structure as well. In both towns this created a new heterogeneity that did not exist before, particularly in terms of immigrants, who came from many different places. Anthropologists who worked in BiH before and after the war already drew attention to differences between rural and urban populations in terms of cultural practices, moral prejudices and perceptions of the Other. In the studies those coming from rural areas are commonly perceived as *seljaci*¹¹² who are primitive and ‘non-cultured’¹¹³, as opposed to ‘cultured’ locals¹¹⁴. I agree with this assessment to a degree, particularly in highlighting difference between urban and rural populations. I often discussed these cultural differences between the ‘locals’ and ‘new comers’ while living in the country’s capital, Sarajevo. My friends would commonly use a term *papak*¹¹⁵ to refer to anyone, usually not born in urban Sarajevo, who does not conform to behaviours that are acceptable within this milieu and doesn’t belong there. But in Sarajevo this categorisation is often applied to a pre-war group of immigrants from Sandžak in Serbia, to whom they refer as *Sandžaklije*. Typically, they are blamed for starting the war. In my study, this was not common in either of the places, which are both small rural towns. The fact that Bringa (1995) found this in the village in rural Central Bosnia where she was

¹¹² Peasants

¹¹³ ‘*Nekulturni*’ – lacking culture

¹¹⁴ Stefansson (2007) for Sarajevo; Kolind (2008) for Stolac; Bringa (1995) for east Bosnian village Dolina; Sorabji (2006) on Sarajevo.

¹¹⁵ Meaning *hoof*

working implies that this is something that comes from specific context of the place.

5.2.3. Occasional Residence

As I was getting to know people in Stolac, I started discovering a group that was partly absent and partly involved in the communal life. They have lives somewhere else in BiH that they are not willing to abandon for a variety of reasons, but they are keeping close ties and spending a lot of time in the town. Some of them are living and working in Sarajevo, while the others are based in Mostar. These are people who kept and repaired their houses after the war's end and spend most of their weekends and holidays in Stolac. Some of them spend longer periods of time in the town, which makes it impossible to assign them a specific residence category. I call this group 'weekenders' to highlight the irregularity of their residence. People who don't live in the town more strongly emphasise local ethnic divisions because their life in the town was stopped when they were targeted by violence because of their ethnicity and they are not able to make a progress in the same way as permanent resident whose daily life in the towns. One of the interviewees explained frequency of the visits and the relationship with the local Croats:

I come whenever I can, weekends and holidays. My wife and I took the biggest burden of clearing up everything here [...the old family complex of buildings, stables and yards...]. [...My...] children don't want to come here. I intend to return [...permanently...] to fix the stables. Relationships with Croats are distant. I don't socialise with anyone, only with these my Muslims on Poplašići." (ST290612)

It is not immediately obvious to who is a permanent resident, and the ones that are visiting occasionally. Even though I got to know the resident quite quickly, after few months of living in the place, chance encounters sometimes introduced me to new circles.

Today I went to an exhibition opening in Šarića Kuća art-gallery. This building in the centre of the town dated from ca. 1734/ 1735 and was destroyed during the war in July 1993. It has since been fully repaired and is again in use as an art-gallery and a venue for public events, concerts and exhibitions. It has a beautiful interior of wooden oriental windows and walls, with a yard in the middle of the complex, typical of Ottoman architecture. After the exhibition I was invited to the author's house for dinner and socialising. There were around ten of us, most guests originally from Stolac but none of them was living there at present. Two gentlemen are living and working in Mostar and they left after dinner to go back there. Others, who are from Sarajevo, were staying in their houses in the town, including my host and his wife. The dinner talk was about politics but also about Stolac, reminiscence of childhood and past life¹¹⁶. (Diary)

In the following weeks I started bumping into the people I had met at the dinner – local shops and supermarkets, in the street - and it was obvious they were staying in the town for a while. One day I asked one of the wives whether they had been in town ever since the exhibition, and she said they had left in the meantime but had returned again, and explained they were spending more time in the town now. However, many of these people had not left because of the war, but in their youth, to study in Sarajevo or in one of the other big university cities in former Yugoslavia, and they stayed there to work. The following year, when I was there with the team to conduct the survey, one of the participants explained to enumerators that we met months earlier at a dinner and he was agreeing to participate only because he met me and knew about my research.

For others, the point of departure was war displacement. Quite often, there would be a situation where the older generation, who were refugees, returned to the town while their children who had found jobs or started families in the place of displacement, continued living there.

'We were refugees in Beočin, a village close to Novi Sad. We had relatives there. I had three children, students, when we left Stolac. They graduated, started their families and got jobs there. They are not coming back.' (ST230412)

¹¹⁶ A story told by my host about a specific childhood memory is in the Annex 4.

There are also diaspora. Quite often, they live in neighbouring Croatia and Serbia, while the rest live in other foreign countries. Although they are not permanently located in Stolac, formally they are residents, i.e. they are registered at an address in the town and have their ID there, but their place of living is somewhere abroad. Diaspora migrants usually come back during the summer and spend around a month in the town. However, the pattern and frequency of these visits are slowly changing. In the past they would rush back to 'their Stolac'; they now come back for a while and spend some time at the seaside, but not all of them come back every year. The frequency of the visits and their involvement in local life are a source of dispute and grievances with the locals. I went to the 1st May celebration, where this was debated very emotionally and energetically:

Diaspora people keep telling us what should be done in Stolac. At the same time they all live on government benefits abroad. Like all we need is them telling us what to do, and they don't invest anything. They don't even bother to register for postal voting, only 105 in the last elections. (GR01052012)

Diaspora in Kotor Varoš is different because they are mainly displaced Croat and Muslim population, living abroad who visit the town few times a year.

5.2.4. New Migrants

Another category of community members are the IDPs who permanently settled in the community. Some of the new settlers originated from other municipalities in BiH or from abroad, while others migrated from the rural parts of the municipality. However, direct forced displacement was not the only means that brought new settlers into the communities. There is a situation that is typical only for places that experienced a collective displacement. As a result many people met their spouses during their refugee life, and a significant number of new immigrants became spouses of the displaced pre-war population and moved to the town after the end of the war as part of the new families. Because the pre-war Muslim population was forcibly evicted from the town, they lived somewhere else for a number of years and married there, returning with their new spouses after the

war. Because they were initially displaced to the town of Blagaj, and most of this population was still there at the end of the war (1995-1996), this is where they got married. I met a number of people with this story. For example, my next-door neighbour was from Blagaj, a small town to which the Muslim population was displaced during the war. Her husband is from Stolac and they met while he was living in Blagaj during the war years. She was quite young when they married (20) and he is 15 years her senior. They returned to Stolac together in 2002, and have lived there ever since. When the process of return started, spouses returned together to their pre-war residence after the war's end. Falling in love and getting married was one of the aspects of everyday life that continued irrespective of the experience of war and violence, as Lubkemann (2008) noticed for the Machazian population. Interactions and social behaviours for this new population could be expected to be different to those of people that arrived as migrants and had no existing links with the town.

One of the women, a close friend of one of my interviewees, with whom I spend almost every evening in the playground, I just discovered is from a village in Herzegovina, close to the town of Konjic. She too met her husband who was there as a soldier and after moving around and changing several places they got an opportunity for a flat ownership in Stolac, and returned to live in the town. She found settling in the town very difficult as she had no friends or family, and no one to talk to, spending solitary days. At present she has three children and this is how she started getting to know her neighbours and other mothers, who became a circle of friends. They also regularly meet at the Catholic Church service, which seems to be a place for getting to know people, at least those of the same religion. (Diary)

A locally born respondent told me:

My wife is from Blagaj; we married in 1997. She was 3rd grade of high school [17-18] when we got married. But she wasn't interested in marriage at all. She is not the type. To her, the school and education was everything. She was doing really well in school. After that [...we got married...] she went on to study in Mostar. She was studying and spending some time with me here after we returned, from 1999. (ST210712)

On the other hand, the Croatian population was displaced, and many soldiers in the Croatian army lived in other places across Herzegovina so they found their

spouses where they lived during the war or immediately afterwards. Arriving as a spouse of a pre-war resident led to a different pattern of settling in the town and playing a role in the post-war community. First, they were typically settled in the house or flat where their spouse used to live before they met, or lived with their spouse's family, and through this entered established social circles, even if they were broken through the wartime violence. Not very differently to the other new settlers, they have different history, culture and daily life from living in different places and communities. As family members, their daily life was shaped in the same way as that of the pre-war local population. At the same time, they were embedded in the *mahala* of the family they had married into, and had access to neighbourhood networks. On the other hand, marriage is a social institution and an important one for bridging between people and facilitating interactions where they perhaps would not otherwise exist, as I will discuss later in the chapter. Marriages to people (particularly women) from the nearby villages weren't unusual before the war either, and I also met a number of women from rural villages who had married in Stolac. Three of the female interviewees from the NGO that I worked with married and came to live in the town before the war. One is from Bugojno, a town in North Bosnia, one is from the nearby village in the pre-war municipality in Stolac, and the third one is from Prijedor. This again shows that the community was not closed or disconnected from the outside world before the war.

5.3. Return and Settling in the Place

This section will discuss the process and nature of settlement in the place by returnees and new settlers in the two towns. I will start by providing a brief overview of the figures of returnees based on my survey data and I will point to some differences compared to the national level of return dynamics, which suggest that the majority of the return took place in the first three years after the war.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ I interviewed UNHCR several times during my stay in BiH, the last time in March 2015, but they had no data on returnees and IDPs by municipality. The BiH Ministry, whom I also interviewed, keeps statistics for Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons, but according to them the database

Despite the fact that Stolac was one of the pilot municipalities, only 20.4% of the survey respondents returned in the first three years after the end of the war, particularly 1997 and 1998, while 46.6% of the respondents returned between 2000 and 2002. In Kotor Varoš 69.8% of the survey respondents returned in the period between 1999-2001, while only 4.6% of respondents reported returning in the first three years after the war. Qualitative data also confirmed this, as none of the interviewees returned before 1999. A six-year period from 1997 to 2002 inclusive is when the majority of the respondents returned: 73.8% in Stolac and 74.4% in Kotor Varoš.¹¹⁸ The survey figures are in line with the national figures for 2001 and 2002, which indicate an increase in numbers returning following the initial influx and decrease after the war during 1996-1998. These figures also show that despite the initial enthusiasm and strong push by the international community for return of the displaced people, it was only about five years after the end of war that people felt comfortable in their pre-war places of residence and that local infrastructural and housing networks became satisfactory.

Stolac

Stolac was one of the four towns participating in the early return programme drafted under the DAP. Apart from stopping the war, the return of refugees and IDPs was a central focus of the DAP and entailed agreeing to the “Pilot Project” for the voluntary return of 600 families to towns in the Federation of BiH, including the towns of Travnik, Jajce, Bugojno and Stolac, where it was planned for 100 families to return in the first phase¹¹⁹. The first 100 people who returned to Stolac as part of the pilot project were settled in unoccupied houses in a neighbourhood called Uzinovići. Some of the pre-war residents of this neighbourhood immediately returned to their houses, while the others inhabited empty houses waiting for their own properties to become available, many of them occupied by refugees from Central Bosnia. Owing to the many challenges of resettlement and return, the implementation of the pilot programme had to be postponed until August 1996,

is not disaggregated by municipality, which creates significant problems for reconstruction aid, which is allocated by municipality.

¹¹⁸ Author's data

¹¹⁹ <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/Bosnia%208> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

when the first families started returning to Stolac. However at the end of 1996, after these initial steps had been completed, it was still not clear how many people and families were fully repatriated and permanently resettled in the town. The slow progress of the return to Stolac was partly owing to opposition to the pilot project from the local Mayor Pero Raguž. The High Representative, Carlos Westerndorp, subsequently removed him from the Mayoral position on 8 March 1998, largely owing to his lack of cooperation with implementing the return of the pre-war population. Before that, in February 1998, the International Police Task Force (IPTF) removed the local chief of police because of his unwillingness to contain numerous instances of arson aimed at intimidating the returning population.¹²⁰

When I started discussing the return with my interviewees, six of them made the following identical statement: “I was the first one to return to the town.” I understood this as an expression of commitment to the town and attachment to it. One interviewee explained further ‘*[...in 1996...] we went to the War Presidency and said we wanted to return*’ (ST180812) and several others supported this. After their initial enthusiasm for returning, the process stalled, mainly because of numerous problems such as lack of security, poor infrastructure, sluggish economy and lack of institutional framework, problems that were experienced in other places as part of the return process (Jansen 2009). A few years later, as the situation improved, the return regained momentum. The return was not permanent in the first years owing to the dynamic and open-ended process of people moving back and forth between their displacement residence and pre-war residence, waiting for the situation to stabilise (Eastmond 2006). Because the return to Stolac started in 1996 while the local conditions were volatile, the pre-war population experienced more movement and instability in comparison to those in Kotor Varoš. If their own properties were not available, people would be accommodated in empty houses and would live there until their own was vacated

¹²⁰ U.S. Department of State; Bosnia and Herzegovina Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1998; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, February 26, 1999 <http://www.nato.int/sfor/trans/1998/t980216a.htm> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

and the legal process of restitution completed. As one interviewee illustrated, his life in Stolac was in flux for seven years:

I returned in 1997. The building where I lived before the war was destroyed by arson. With my mother we went to live in someone else's house in Uzinovići. My building was fixed in 2004. The owner of the house where we lived never returned. (ST180812)

The return process was extremely complex because of the number of displaced persons and the number of properties (Jansen 2009; Stefansson 2010) that had to be moved. In short, there was a property chain that had to be dealt with. Upon an owner registering to return, a building contractor would be assigned to carry out repairs or rebuild of the property; the person/family living in the property was given notice and a moving out date. As soon as the building work was completed, the property owner would be notified and invited to move back. The property where they had been staying temporarily would then be vacated for its original owner. At the same time, the original owner of this second property would also be notified that it had been vacated and was ready for them to move back in.

'We registered to return to Stolac and had to wait for our house to be repaired. We used to live in Šahovina (Mostar), in a Serbian house, that of a person from Nevesinje. The house was burnt before we moved in (arson) so we had to put some wooden planks and plastic sheets to prevent rain from coming in. When it was done the police came to our door (to ask us to move out) because they had an eviction date and they wanted to receive confirmation that the original property was ready for moving in.' (ST030612)

The number of reconstructed rooms in the house depended on the number of returnees. If only a married couple returned, they would get one room plus a bathroom and kitchen repaired to habitable condition, including the roof, doors and windows. For many pre-war inhabitants this was hugely disappointing as people commonly had one or two storey houses of at least 150 square metres. I have seen some of the abandoned properties that still stand empty. It was not just property destruction that affected them but also systematic looting of everything useable in the house - windows, doors, electrical sockets and plumbing, to name a few. The houses were stripped bare of any reminder of human existence and

looked like they have never been inhabited. One interviewee described her first impressions of the town in 2000:

Everything was black; everything was burnt down. (ST040412)

Facing the place after violent destruction is the point at which expectations and memory meet reality and people enter a process of negotiating the interactions between the past, the present and future in their lives. What had remained in the memories of the pre-war population is not what they found on return; and in the attempt to articulate the path of the post war recovery some of them used colours as a metaphor for destruction and for the new community. One interviewee in Stolac said: *“When the rooftops became red again you knew the community was back.”* (ST210712) I use this metaphor for my thesis’ title because it captures the meaning of space and life. Roof means unity; ‘living under the same roof’ implies a tightly-knit social unit that can be understood as a house, home or household. One interviewee in Kotor Varoš made a similar statement: *‘First there were there roofs and then the return became massive.’* (UOPSTKV131212)

For the international organisations that were in charge of the reconstruction, the return was not just a question of mechanically reconstructing the properties: they thought about the social aspect, too, and tried to reconstruct houses in different neighbourhoods in the town.

We got a grant for reconstruction from UNHCR but it wasn’t enough to restore the whole house, just the top floor, and the rest we did ourselves. Potential contractors would tender for the repair work (for each house that has been approved). They (UNHCR) were rebuilding the houses by neighbourhood (‘po mahalama’) taking care that each neighbourhood got some houses repaired. Various (international) organisations were providing reconstruction assistance and each was building in different mahalas. All you had to do to get a grant was to sign up to return. (ST030612)

Kotor Varoš

Returning to Kotor Varoš started several years later than in Stolac, in the summer of 1999.¹²¹ Earlier that year, on 21st May 1999, the first 30 families attempted to return. Kotor Varoš municipal assembly organised a group of citizens to physically block the road and prevent the return.¹²² For this reason, people would instead come and visit their houses on occasions, but there was no rush as was the case in Stolac. Once the return started it was more steady and definite than in Stolac, but many people remained living abroad, notably the local Croatian population. At the start of my fieldwork in 2012 when I was looking for accommodation, several people recommended that I rent one of the Croat houses because they were fully repaired, modern and had central heating. However, because their owners were abroad, it was impossible to get access to them and enquire about a possibility of living in a Croat house. Because the focus of the study is community formation in the two towns, I was planning to replicate the data collection that I used in Stolac, both in the sample and the methods. Starting from the key informant to whom I was introduced before coming to town, I approached a random selection of people who would then introduce me to someone else. However, the first 20 interviews out of the total number of 56 happened to be with local Serbs; most of them were not displaced during the war, which reveals about the pre-war population of the town. While in Stolac the formation of a post-war community was inaugurated by the return of the displaced population, in Kotor Varoš, the numerical dominance of the local Serbian population meant that their view of community was different at the same point in time was very different to that of returnees.

It took me a while to trace the returning population to the part of the town called Donja Varoš, where the Medžlis (Council) of the Islamic Community is situated and the houses around it were predominantly populated by returnees. According to the local imam whom I interviewed, many people did not return to this part of the town, which had a predominantly Muslim population before the war. Even when I went to Kotor, where the war massacre in June 1992 took place, I found mostly

¹²¹ Interviews

¹²² <http://www.nato.int/sfor/trans/1999/t990525a.htm> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

empty houses, many of which are still in ruins, without much life in this part of the town. This was in stark contrast to the town centre, just on the other side of the Vrbanja. One Serbian woman agreed to be interviewed and she also provided me with details about all of the empty houses around her. During one of the first interviews conducted in the town, the woman was pointing out the houses one by one, telling me who had returned and who had not and who had died in the meantime, as it was mainly the older generation who came back. She also pointed out that it was mainly IDPs who had been living in the Federation of BiH that had returned, while refugees living in other countries had not seemed to be prepared to do so. She also used the same expression as those in Stolac, explaining the reason for returning as wanting to be “amongst their own”. I interviewed a family from the villages of Hadrovci (husband) and Večići (wife) in the municipality, who had bought their house from a local Muslim person who was imprisoned and tortured for four months during the war and does not want to return. They are both displaced persons because they were forcibly removed from their original place of residence, but at the same time they are rural migrants who chose not to return to their place of origin. As the fieldwork progressed, I discovered that people returned mainly to the surrounding villages such as Vrbanjci and Večići. During the implementation of my survey, I met a Croat couple who are living and working in Germany but are planning to retire to Kotor Varoš. The situation in Kotor Varoš is that the town mainly consists of the pre-war population of Serbs, the newly settled Serbs and a small number of Muslim returnees. As I showed in the survey results earlier, Kotor Varoš has a high rate of rural to urban migration, which poses a question about the community ethnocentrism, sense of belonging and sense of community in circumstances in which returning is not a prominent feature.

For the displaced population, their knowledge and image of the pre-war place is a concept of “the place that was” (Fullilove, 2014) and, based on this, they return with certain expectations of what they want and wish for in their pre-war houses. For those who went through multiple relocations within BiH, after living in many abandoned houses they were able to imagine the condition of their own house. The

next section focuses on housing, not just in terms of repairs, but also building new homes.

5.4. House Repairing, Building and Attachment

The house is at once the physical demarcation of the household, the locus of the unity and interaction in village life, and the embodiment of a separate ethnoreligious identity.

Bringa (1995:73)

“House” can be understood both as a space for living and as a home. As a household, it has a social dimension, too, as a place where a family resides and interacts on a daily basis, sharing the same abode or hearth (Ellis, 1993: 14). Bringa (1995:86) explains the social meaning of the house: “Particularly for the man as husband and father, the house he managed to build symbolised his social worth; it was the proof of his hard work and commitment to his family and their future well-being.” In BiH, and Stolac and Kotor Varoš are no exceptions; people tend to refer to their home as *kuća* (house). In the context of material destruction, people talked about what happened ‘to our house’ and why it was important to ‘get our house back’. This section discusses the role of house attachment. The literature on displacement tends to argue that a sense of home is not grounded in the place, but in ‘the activity that goes on in a place’ (Jackson, 1995:148 quoted in Jansen, 2009) or that houses without people do not constitute homes (Eastmond 2006). A house represents a family’s life spent in the property, sometimes over many generations, while being able to live in the house epitomises one’s rootedness in the communal life. Furthermore, houses in both towns are mainly vernacular and building them usually marked the beginning of a joint, married life, which created a strong bond between spouses and later, their children. When they were asked about residential property, 36.6% of survey respondents in Stolac and 60.3% in Kotor Varoš reported building their own house before the war. If a family member

had been killed in the war, the house became a memorial to the life lived together. In Stolac, many old houses belonged to local families for generations, which made them significant for the wider community, standing as monuments to time and local history.

*"The house of Ajiša Rizvanbegovic, in the Ćuprija quarter, was built in 18th century. Its form, with open wooden porches on the ground and on the first floor, placed it among the few preserved houses of that type. It was burnt and completely destroyed in mid-July 1993."*¹²³

For many people, the houses in which they were born and grew up, where they got married and raised their children - houses that embody family history - hold memories powerful enough to motivate them to return to and restore their houses. Through this process, they are attempting to re-create the life they lost to the violence. On the other hand, as Tall (1996) suggests, the decision to dwell in a certain place comes not only from having a connection to it but to the feeling of being loyal to a place. A house, as a physical place, has a particular importance exactly for this reason: with the destruction of the houses, the centre of family and social life and communal heritage was taken away, but the emotional bond to them was maintained. I will present life stories from both towns to elucidate the significance of attachment to the house in creating, or not, wider attachment to the place. On the other hand, as this section will demonstrate, when people are forced to move they may remain attached to their pre-war house, which can have a negative impact on their settling in the new community and their ability to forge new relationships. Section 2 of my survey contained standard household questions about the dwelling, property ownership, war-related damage, and rebuilding assistance (14 questions about the house, property and repairs). Section 4 asked questions about return, sentiment towards the new community and their decisions to settle permanently in the community.

¹²³ 'Crimes in Stolac Municipality (1992-1996)'

5.4.1. Old House: Being in 'Your Own'

Here, I consider attachment to the house and how this translates, or not, into a broader community sentiment. I will observe, separately, the pre-war, returning population and new settlers because they will have different attachments that, I will argue, may prevent them from participating in the community. This section starts by analysing the testimonies of the pre-war population devoted to the condition of their houses after the war, why it was important to be back in their houses and why they wanted to restore their houses to their pre-war condition. The first step in reconnecting with the place was stepping into the pre-war house, or what was left of it. This brought about the discovery of the extent of the damage, because most people were holding on to memories of the house as they had left it when they were forced out. People returned to their houses with certain expectations, most likely to find what they had left behind years ago. However, I will show that their attachment to their houses was so strong that even finding bare walls would reinforce the connection. Some people had left their houses as teenagers or children and found that upon their return, reconnecting with the house was like going back to their childhood. For others it was their spousal home, where they had built their family life and where their children had grown up. Positive childhood memories, which were expressed by many members of the community, can invoke emotional identification with the place of positive childhood experiences.

We had two houses. One was my mother's, her family house she brought into the marriage [... as a dowry...] and the other one was a house that my parents built. This house was heavily damaged during the war so we used the grant to flatten it and remove the rubble. With the bank loan, we rebuilt the second house (my mother's), but my dad now wants to rebuild the one he built, because he feels that one was really his. (ST310112)

As one of the interviewees emphasised, they were not just concerned with getting the house into a liveable condition, but restoring it to its former glory “[... as the house] *used to be the biggest and most beautiful in Stolac.*” (ST230412a) But he

continued by explaining the role of the family in repairing the house. *"My situation was specific. Mixed marriage had its advantages. My wife is Catholic and her family was really fair to us and they helped us renew the house. Without them it wouldn't be possible. I don't mind which nationality someone is."*

Even though the houses were rebuilt, they often lacked connection to basic amenities such as water or electricity mains; resolving this placed an additional financial burden on the returning families:

'I had to pay 2,500 KM to get connected to the electricity network and they had to bring the cable all the way from "železara" building (which is few hundred metres away)' (ST030612).

'I used to run my own hotel before the war and I had a big house. It was the biggest and prettiest house in Stolac. Massive. The house had been repaired when I returned with my wife, but only the living room, hallway, water and sanitation.'(ST230412)

Similar situations would arise for IDPs who were settling permanently in the new community. For example, in 1995 someone from central Bosnia was living in a house in Stolac. Before the house in which they had originally lived in Bosnia was vacated, the house owner from Stolac had to return because the property they were occupying in Mostar had been restored to the original owner, who would be returning from residing in someone else's property. Quite often, if the original property owner had not been pressed for accommodation, they would agree to wait until the refugee's accommodation was ready and many resolved overstaying in an amicable way. Other people had a less pleasant experience and had to leave their temporary accommodation even though their permanent residence was not yet ready.

We came in Stolac in 1995 and first we lived in a Muslim house. They (the house owners) 'got restitution' and we had to move out. But this house wasn't finished yet; it was built but there was no electricity and water yet, only an electricity generator. (Refugee family from Zenica, first displaced to Vitez and then to Stolac, ST180413).

When a house had been completely destroyed and nothing remained in it, no possessions or memories of pre-war times, the priority was to restore the house to how it had been before the war. One of the interviewees told a story of how she insisted on having her house rebuilt exactly the same as it had been while she lived there with her late husband before the war. But the engineer from UMCOR (United Methodist Committee on Relief) who was in charge of the reconstruction built it in a different way, which led to a big argument in her attempt to persuade him to construct the house as it was before the war.¹²⁴

For most of the people whose houses have been destroyed, their attachment is to the memory of the place. The presence of the house, of the space they know and recognise even if not in the same shape as in their memories, represents continuity and connection with the place and the local context. There were no significant differences between the two towns in terms of people's attachment to their houses.

Yours is yours. When you are amongst your own, with your own people, you know exactly everyone's ways. (KV151212)

What makes the difference for the community formation is the number of those whose house is not in the place where they live at present, which I will discuss in the next section.

5.4.2. New House

As for the new settlers in both Stolac and Kotor Varoš, their attachment is to their pre-war houses. This is strongly expressed among older interviewees in particular, who were born, spent their lives and raised their families elsewhere in places in which their properties are still mostly destroyed. This sub-section will discuss how

¹²⁴ Personal interview (FG190412)

people settle in the new houses in the light of their enduring attachment to their pre-war houses.

My study does not seek explanations for what motivates people to return. Sanguilinda (2010) in her study of motivations and decisions to return after violence in north-eastern Bosnia argues that emotions play a major role and shows that rational choice decisions based on the practicalities of being home are not sufficient explanation for the process of return. My findings complement Sanguilinda's and contribute to the field of social psychology through expansion of the concept of place attachment and sense of community and their links to impact of violence. In some cases, the experience of violence is so strong that even emotions in the form of house attachment, undoubtedly equally strong, are not enough of a motivation for them to rebuild their past life in the house. One interviewee who still goes back to visit her destroyed house reflected very emotionally on the reasons: *"I still visit my house's scorched remains, I feel attached to it - my children were born there. But I would never return there, it is too difficult."* (ST270612). The experience of violence is emotionally so strong as to override attachment as a motivation for returning to their pre-war place of residence; as a consequence they decided to start new lives. Strong attachment to the old house can have a negative impact on integrating into the new community, because it prevents connecting with the new house. Some literature emphasises the length of residence as a significant factor in developing place attachment as well as other emotional or behavioural factors. This section revealed that place attachment is a critical feature of post-war community formation. If it is among the pre-war settlers, it is a motivating factor for building community. If the community members are new, they will keep attachment to their pre-war spaces, which creates an obstacle for engaging in the new community.

5.5. Place Attachment: Landscape, History and Religion

When a mosque gets destroyed, part of a person disappears as well.

(Imam, Kotor Varoš)

The last point in this chapter explores attachment to public places and the restoration of damaged material objects. Manzo (2003) argues that people's emotional relationships to places encompass a broad range of physical settings that are outside their place of residence. Restoring personal possessions was the first thing people did after the war to establish their living conditions, particularly their houses. What followed was the restoration of public places to the condition in which they existed pre-war, as preserved in people's memories. Some aspects of the reconstruction are very practical, such as health and security. However, the act of undoing the material damage had a collective importance for the pre-war population, because rejecting the possibility of permanent place change is a way of dealing with the consequences of violence. It is about re-establishing communal spaces and boundaries, which have symbolic and personal meaning for many pre-war community members, while for others they hold cultural and social significance. While undoing the consequences of violent destruction may be understood as undoing the war itself, a much stronger motivation is the future, specifically the vision of a place in which people see the continuation of their communal lives. In the following section I will use narratives and interviews to outline the foremost public spaces to which people maintained significant attachment and those they felt had to be restored as a basic step in rebuilding the community. I will focus on three spatial ranges: local rivers, local history and religious objects.

Stolac

The biography of one of the most prominent and influential BiH poets begins with the following statement: "Mak (born Mehmedalija) Dizdar was born on 17 October 1917 in the fairy-tale like, uniquely picturesque Herzegovinian small town of Stolac, which flourishes on the magical waters of the river Bregava and local,

continuous, multi-millennium traces of human and humane life”¹²⁵. The first interviewee from Stolac, who introduced the situation there, explained that *‘citizens of Stolac are very patriotic and have this unique (pathological) bond with their town’* (ST310112). Pre-war residents of Stolac are deeply upset about what happened to their town and they shared stories about love, attachment, and their desire for the town to be restored to its pre-war, indeed ‘fairy-tale,’ condition. They would often talk about Stolac as a *‘pretty čaršija’*, and this notion has a central place in the narratives of longing and grieving for what has been lost. Their narratives demonstrate strong emotional connections to the place, a local spirit and a shared history among the inhabitants. Earlier in the thesis I described the accounts that interviewees gave me about their town, its beautiful architecture, old buildings and mosques, water mills and old private houses dating from the Ottoman period. Inhabitants of Stolac expressed affection for many spaces in the town, but the river Bregava with its clear waters, where local children spend summers and learn to swim in an incredibly hot and sunny climate, is prominent in the interviewees’ recollections. It has a special significance in their attachment to the place, as it is associated with childhood memories and a happier way of life, in what Cooper Marcus (1992) refers to as ‘environmental memories’. One pre-war resident of Stolac stated: *‘To me, the most important is Bregava.’* (ST030612); while another interviewee commented:

Upon returning to Stolac the first thing I did was to cross the bridge and lean over to see Bregava. Bregava captivates all of us, that cerulean blue river to which you are somehow attached, I don’t know. (ST120412, the interviewee is originally from a central Bosnian town but lived in Stolac before the war owing to her marriage.)

Upon returning to the towns for the first time since forced displacement, people obtained full insight into what had happened, not only to their own houses, but also to public places and religious sites. As discussed in the previous chapter, the rich cultural heritage and sites of historical interest in Stolac had been demolished or burned to the ground in a systematic and brutal way, and it is one of the places in BiH that suffered most in terms of the destruction of religious and secular

¹²⁵ <http://makdizdar.ba/biografija-2/>

architectural heritage (Hernández et al. 2007). Most of my interviewees had some idea of the damage, but the real extent of it was incomprehensible until their return. For some people, Stolac was simply not the same place with all that had been destroyed, while for others the connection was more at a group level, whereby they identified local Muslim identity with the identity of the place, based on local history and cultural heritage. Loss of land or destruction of community can be taken as one of the essential linkages that create place attachment between people and the land (Bevan 2006). This section will demonstrate that attachment to place is the main motivation for reconstruction, as shown by the fact that the returning pre-war populations of both towns are behind the efforts to rebuild and restore the towns and the communities.

Reference to material destruction of places in war is usually not made in relation to the environment, particularly natural resources such as rivers or lakes; hence, the story that follows is rather unusual. The river could not escape the destiny of the destroyed historical town and houses. The end of the war in Stolac saw the opening of an illegal market for trading stolen cars and goods and trafficking women. This business particularly flourished during and after the war, trading across the newly established Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL). The business was organised and owned by a local man called Tukeša¹²⁶ who obtained this piece of land legally from the local authorities in Stolac, soon after the war. These were the same authorities that were against the return of the pre-war population that I discussed earlier in the chapter. According to the interviewees, his intention from the start was to establish an illegal car market. He returned to Stolac from living abroad in 1989 with money allegedly sent by *Ustaše* immigration¹²⁷ to fuel the conflict in this part of the country. To build the market, the riverbed of Bregava was altered and the stream moved 40 metres downstream to create a plateau big enough to build kiosks and set up the market. They dug tonnes of earth and stone around the river and used it to block parts of the riverbed. This action created a landslide that disturbed and dislodged nearby houses, leaving them practically

¹²⁶ Real name Jozo Perić, owner of Renner Company, arrested and charged in 2013 for a range of illegal activities (media reports)

¹²⁷ Information from four separate interviews.

hanging over the road. Long after the market was closed, the house owners brought a group lawsuit against Tukeša, which they won, but they were not financially compensated. Instead, as compensation they received several pieces of heavy machinery, such as professional diggers and concrete mixer trucks, which I saw on the plateau next to the former market. A local man, who took me to the market, explained 'just to ignite this leviathan you need to pour in around 400 litres of oil and they don't have that kind of money.' (ST010512). The so-called 'Renner Market' was closed in 2000. At the time of writing (April 2015) it still stands in the same place with tin/metal containers neatly built in rows along one side of the road exactly on the invisible border between the Federation of BiH and Republic Srpska. Several interviewees repeated this story as an illustration of the town destruction and insisted that I should visit the location.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter explored two different elements of the post-war community – membership and their emotional attachment to the place. Places change as a result of war and violence, both in terms of population numbers and social structure, potentially leading to a type of heterogeneity that didn't exist before the war. First, extensive sociological and economics literature focuses on effects of group size on its actions. While the former is more interested in interactions and social organization, the latter focuses on a group with interest in a public good, and their actions in managing it. In sociology, sixty years ago Simmel (1955), followed a decade later by analyst of his work Coser (1964), pioneered idea that numbers are significant for social life and his main argument, although not empirically tested in his first work, was that in smaller groups involvement of the members is easier and interactions are more intense, leading to stronger group cohesion with increased interdependence. Simmel suggests that group size can be directly linked with individual freedom from the group structure, where reduction in the group size will lead to increased control over their members. Olson's group paradox (1965) follows the similar line, suggesting that smaller groups will be more successful than larger ones in mobilising for collective action to achieve their

interest but his thesis is limited to groups with specific characteristics. However, they maintained the same claim that small groups are more functional than larger ones, but not really resonating the fact that the group structure matters. This idea has been empirically tested and further theoretically developed in the decades to follow, particularly rigorously in relation to cooperation where the studies were asking: what does reduction in size entail in reference to characteristics or dimensions of a group and whether the size should be taken as the only independent variable to the group. Reduction in population size is a very important outcome of the war because it will affect interactions. The natural order of things is for population size to increase. However, war has opposite effect and leads to reduction of the population numbers, a common outcome of a war because of lethal violence, health related deaths, poor living conditions or poverty or resulting from the forced displacement. Based on the size, it could be expected that a reduction will lead to increased interactions and strengthen possibility and likelihood of cooperation and collective action. However, this study has found an inverse logic. Based on Simmel's work I argued in this chapter that reduction in group size will increase control within a group, reduce freedom by increasing probability that people will know each other personally and be able to observe each other's live very closely. In my view, this bypasses argument around rational choice and resource management. It increases a type of visibility that prevents an individual from making personal choices, about interacting or participating in the communal life based on personal preferences.

The reason for focusing on the group size and structure of the populations in the two places is because both of these aspects have been identified in the literature as contextual variables that affect group cooperation and collective action. Furthermore, both in-migration and out-migration are likely to have a negative impact on communal collective action, particularly resource management (Ostrom 2000). In the case of in-migration, which is significant in both places, new participants will not trust others, either new settlers or locals, and will find it difficult to rapidly learn social norms that have existed over a long period of time in a place where they just moved. If an influx of a large number of new settlers has

a negative impact on cooperation this could be because new norms and roles will become prevalent over those of the pre-war population, which is now outnumbered. Her Ostrom's (2001) idea is applicable for the two case studies in this thesis, where there was a significant arrival of new settlers and many of the displaced pre-war population did not return. However, establishing new norms and roles takes a much longer time, particularly in the post-war circumstances and despite cultural differences between rural and urban population and between different regions, the roles and norms were not that different.

The second focus of the chapter is a contribution to emerging debates on the role of place attachment in the affiliation of people and places (Manzo and Perkins 2006) by applying relevant concepts to the study of place and community in the aftermath of violent conflict. A major finding of this chapter is that disruptions to place do not translate into disruptions to place attachment, which is one of the principal dimensions in maintaining a sense of community. In the Chapter Three I investigated how violence led to community loss and disruption of its continuity through material destruction and the displacement of the population. This chapter demonstrated the importance of place for post-war community formation, particularly the issue of boundaries and also sentimental attachment to one's hometown. In this thesis, I argue that sense of community endures despite the disruption and it plays a role in the formation of post-war communities. I understand sense of community as a dual entity, both as physical and social, which I argued has two aspects. First is the question of how place attachment to particular physical settings motivates or obstructs community formation. Second, I showed that this difference is related to place attachment and identity between the pre-war population and new settlers and their individual place attachment. I argued that because new settlers maintain a strong place attachment to their pre-war place of residence, they find it difficult to integrate in the new community.

The second and third sections of the chapter discussed place attachment and its outcomes. It showed that attachment to a house can play both a positive and a

negative role in how people become embedded in a post-war place, depending on whether this is the native or non-native population. My findings show that house attachment was one of the main motivations for reclaiming and repairing properties and one of the vital aspects of place attachment, both as a physical place and in terms of life experiences in that place. After the war violence, attachment to the house remains very strong, irrespective of the place of residence and the extent of damage. Some literature argues that loss and destruction lead to even stronger place attachment, through creating 'culturally based place attachment', particularly in the migration literature with reference to home, homeland and the importance of the existence of this connection (Low 1992: 9). These findings contradict Eastmond's (2006) discussion of motivations for return in Bosnia. She claims that property restitution has little bearing on the decision to return and that "...a house loses much of its meaning without the larger context of social relations, which makes it 'home'". (2006: 157). I found that all the displaced people expressed strong sentiments for the houses in which they used to live before the displacement, because it epitomised family life and family genealogy, childhood memories and past experiences. In addition, they talked about being "in their own" (property) as the most important element of their lives. Strong attachment to one's house was maintained, irrespective of whether interviewees returned to the original communities or not, observable through the need to repair houses and properties, even if they came back only once or twice a year to visit. For the new settlers who came to Stolac and Kotor Varoš during the war and decided to start a new life there, they maintained attachment to the house they had lost or left behind and still expressed a strong connection to it. This dual attachment presented an obstacle to establishing enduring and affective bonds with the new place and, in this way, also to community formation. In broader terms, these findings link to the discussion of mobility and place attachment. Some studies show that mobility doesn't impede place attachment, while others show that mobility, particularly forced, actually undermines attachment (Lewicka 2013). This is based on the idea that when physical connection ceases, this instigates processes that bind people to their socio-physical environment (Brown and Perkins 1992). In this chapter, I argued that war and violence do not impede place attachment, which symbolizes a resident's identity and home. Furthermore, it was

evident that among the new settlers, the place attachment to the earlier place of residence was still powerful.

In the next section, moving from the individual to the collective level, I discussed how community attachment is developed and the role it plays in community formation. This chapter examined the importance of attachment to public spaces and landscapes and memories of the pre-war place. It raised salient issues about understanding the connection between the residents and the place in which the community would form. I found that attachment to public spaces and local history was much stronger in Stolac than in Kotor Varoš, which suggested that the way the pre-war community was set up had implications for its post-war formation. The cultural artefacts and sites of historical significance that were destroyed during the war, in combination with religious objects and individual and collective memories of the place, all played a role in place attachment and acted as an incentive for rebuilding specific places. In other words, the returning pre-war community members wanted their community to be restored with all the cultural capital it used to possess before the war. In contrast, as different discussions on violence in the thesis show and as I will discuss in the ensuing chapter, nationalist political structures envisaged post-war communities without their cultural heritage, which they relate to a Muslim ethno-religious identity. In Kotor Varoš, connection to the community was more often expressed at the individual level, where it was associated with an attachment to the house, family and place of living. The destruction of public places and spaces happened on a much smaller scale in terms of the community disruption, partly because one third of the pre-war residents continued living there during the war. Principal efforts to rebuild were made to re-establish the destroyed religious buildings and objects, which required collective mobilisation to reinforce the community's connection to the place. The fact that people were so engaged in discussions about the spaces and their importance in the daily life of the community showed that attachment to place had endured the war and was perhaps more potent than ever. Indeed, it was an emotional connection that showed deep engagement with the place and it was likely to play a significant role in people's reasons for coming back. For the most part, people's

attachment was to objects that used to constitute the place, but also, on a more personal level, to a house as the epitome of a former life. I argued that the relationship with the place is a critical element of post-war community formation and that this sentiment exists at different levels of spatial organisation.

The connection between place attachment and community participation and development is an important one to establish, particularly the social and political aspects of the relationship (Manzo and Perkins 2006). Among those who had strong bonds with the place, they were motivated to promote and contribute to the development of community through the process of restoration. What presented an obstacle, starting from the house level, is the physical setting of the community and whether people were able to establish bonds with one another and with the place. In the next chapter I discuss what motivates interactions between the community members.

6. From Violent To Non-Violent Post-War Interactions

The previous chapter discussed spatial integration through rebuilding physical spaces that were destroyed during the war and the importance of place attachment for community formation. It found that attachment to place, pre-war life and childhood memories was a strong motivating factor for the pre-war population to return to the towns and start rebuilding their lives. In contrast, for the new settlers, attachment to their pre-war houses and communities presented an obstacle to settling in the new place. Social and emotional attachment to places is connected to the sense of community and the chapter argued that in Stolac, where residents were more strongly connected to their town, sense of community was stronger for the pre-war population. In Kotor Varoš place attachment was more related to the house and living environment than to the town itself, which shows that the sense of community was not as strong as in pre-war Stolac. However, in Kotor Varoš, a significant number of the pre-war population of Serbian nationality

stayed in the town, which meant the community had an element of continuation. This chapter focuses on answering the following question: what is the nature of interactions between the community members and what motivates them? The chapter observes interactions at three levels of social organisation. First is family and friends, the second is the neighbourhood, and the third is the community level. The chapter examines interactions between the pre-war population and the new settlers at all three levels. Furthermore, it also observes interactions between the pre-war local populations who were set apart by the war, either through displacement or because they were fighting on opposite sides. I conceptualise social relations between individuals and groups in the two towns on a continuum ranging from open violence at one extreme and daily, peaceful interactions at the other with uneasy coexistence and segregation in the middle. This chapter will contribute to theoretical understanding of what motivates interactions between individuals and groups following violence and through different stages of post-war recovery. While this may seem to be a linear process observed from the peacebuilding perspective (Brown et al. 2008), I argue that interactions vary depending on the level of social organisation, even at the same point in time, for instance between community and family level and that they can also deteriorate even if they were improving.

The chapter starts by investigating post-war violence, which in Stolac was widespread and lasted for a decade after the end of the war, whereas in Kotor Varoš it was scarce. From 1996, when the return of the pre-war population started, interactions between the pre-war population and new settlers in Stolac began violently and this coloured every aspect of people's lives, filling them with fear, worry and anxiety. The next section will focus on the neighbourhood interactions. The third section will provide an overview of interactions on a more personal, intimate level between family members and friends, detailing how they were built or re-established during the post-war period and how they were maintained despite local violence and strained relations on a larger group level. This chapter draws on the interviews that asked people about the nature of their interactions, the survey data with specific questions about the nature and the frequency of

interactions and local violence, and on my personal observations and informal discussions.

6.1. Ordinary Life in Violent Circumstances

Post-war violence is often part of post-war recovery in many conflict-affected places and is a source of long-term instability (Berdal and Suhrke 2011; Boyle 2014). As I began my research, the question I was keen to answer was, why do some places go through a process of post-war violence and destruction, whereas others do not? What does this reveal to us about the post-war community? This section details incidents of post-war violence in the two towns with the aim of understanding why they took place and what they tell us about post-war social relations. Unlike the sharing of narratives of wartime violence that came uninvited into conversations and interviews, researching post-war violence was part of this study from the start. I wanted to understand how community differed in one place that was affected by post-war violence and one where there was none. Until 2005, violent clashes between the pre-war population and new settlers were frequent in Stolac, as well as other forms of intimidation and physical violence, particularly targeting returnees, while in Kotor Varoš this was not the case - or to a much lesser extent. When considering that one possible explanation for it was to prevent the return of the pre-war population (Berdal and Suhrke 2011; Boyle 2014), one important difference between the two towns quickly becomes apparent. The return to Stolac, as the previous chapter explained in detail, started as early as 1996 while the political conditions were still volatile, both at the state and the local level, whereas in Kotor Varoš it started several years later, in the summer of 1999, when the situation had stabilised.

6.1.1. Stolac

Incidents started with the return of the displaced population and they were

targeted mainly at individuals, despite the fact that people never returned alone during the first stage of the pilot project. They spent a limited amount of time during the day in the town, which provided opportunities for chance encounters with their former friends, neighbours and families. They would also work on repairing their houses, but their physical movements were quite restricted in terms of where they could go in the town and they mainly remained in their houses. Regardless, the attackers had information about the dates and times of the visits and they would attack people who were staying in their own properties.

You had to stay in Uzinovići. You couldn't come to čaršija: it wasn't safe. You had to go through back yards of the destroyed houses to get to your house. But there were no physical barriers, such as walls or barbed wire. The former 'Inkos' factory was the border.' (ST160413)

The first time we came back to visit our house was in 1997-1998. We would stay in the house during the day [... to work on repairing it...] and go back to Mostar in the evening. On one of these visits in 1998 'they' [...thugs, in civilian clothes...] attacked my daughter when she went for a swim in Bregava. They were throwing stones at her and I went out to help so they physically attacked me too, and hit me. I didn't know them [...the attackers...] and they didn't know me personally. (ST030612)

This interviewee's wife offers a different version of the same story, saying that the husband was attacked in the house while doing some work and the daughter, who was at the beach swimming, ran to help him and picked a fight with the attackers.

One interviewee described multiple attacks against one person. *The father [... a Serb...] was violently attacked and beaten three times. The attackers were wearing civilian clothes and were not locals. Usually, they were brought from other places like Čapljina. At the time of the third attack he was in his friend's local convenience store (radnja). He recognized the attackers [... from the previous attacks...] and realised they had come for him so he told his friend "I'd better leave your store, otherwise they will damage it too". So he went out and they did in fact beat him and he ended up in the hospital (as the previous times).* (ST310112)

People would get beaten when they came to visit their houses. For example, the wife of Sule Reić, she came to inspect her shop and house. A Croat came to

her shop, but she went upstairs to her house [...in an attempt to hide...]. They followed her, and she got a beating¹²⁸. (FG240812)

Local poet Hamo Elezović was ambushed and badly beaten¹²⁹.

They [... Croats...] also beat up Hamo, that poet Elezović Hamo who walks around Stolac. They ambushed him by the tekke and he got a good beating. Ended up in a hospital. There were cases like this, and threats. (FG240812)

One death was reported from all these incidents. In the early years of the return, a local woman in her late 50s decided to visit her old friends and went across the *čaršija* in the evening, during curfew. She was ambushed in a small alleyway, attacked and beaten and later died of her injuries in the hospital. I attempted to obtain information about this and other incidents of this nature, but the Commander of Stolac Police Station refused to share any information, although they keep a log of all the local violent incidents going back to 1995. He told me, in quite a rude manner, that he is not willing to share any information with me and that neither he nor any of the employees at the local police station would talk to me¹³⁰. It was obvious that even in 2012 and 2013, these incidents from 10-15 years ago were a sensitive topic and the local police wanted to prevent me from investigating.

In the interviews, people were quite careful about identifying the instigators and perpetrators of this violence. They also thought a lot about motivations for violence, and who committed it, in an attempt to make sense of it. Violence is neither senseless nor faceless (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004), particularly at the local level in small communities where people encounter each other on a daily basis.

'This next-door house was burned and this house didn't have cover (flat, concrete panel) and they would wait here and throw stones at the buses [...of

¹²⁸ The local expression used is 'dobiti degenek,' which means to 'get the beating'. I haven't come across this specific expression in other parts of BiH.

¹²⁹ Interview and media sources

¹³⁰ Interview, Emin Bilal (who is a local resident, Muslim), 3rd May 2012

visiting returnees...]. And in few other places. They were young, they were Croats. There were some Bosnians as well, but they were paid. They told us later they were paid to throw the stones. Bosnians are Croats. There were no Croats in Stolac before the war. There were only two Croat pupils in my classroom. I didn't even know them. Our parents knew them, because they were working together.' (ST160413)

They were not local rowdies – some were Bosanci, who were “cannon meat” and it was easy to persuade them [...to carry out these attacks...]. (ST210712)

As I discussed earlier, in the background chapter, Stolac is a small town. From *čaršija* to Uzinovići is hardly any walk at all and to the end of the neighbourhood is an easy 15-minute walk. To have physical boundaries in such a small place is almost incomprehensible and, as interviewees were explaining, it was difficult to be in a situation where if you walk for five minutes you are no longer safe. During these first years, according to interviewees, there was hardly any contact between the new settlers and the returning locals despite living in such tightly knit neighbourhoods where residents would normally have regular contact with their next-door neighbours. In such circumstances, daily life was confounded to limited spaces and interactions.

Apart from these individual attacks, larger scale incidents were happening, too. They can be divided into two categories: clashes between young people in the cafés, which took place almost every night for years, and those around public landmarks. The incident that is most talked about is an attack and subsequent riots sparked by the rebuilding of Sultan-Salim's Mosque (*Careva džamija*), originally dating from 1519, in what was an attempt to prevent its reconstruction. Preceding and succeeding this event was a protracted private and public argument between Stolac Muslim intellectuals and clergy of the Catholic Church¹³¹. The main point of dispute was that the Mosque was built on the ruins of a Catholic St. Ann's Church which was destroyed in 1519: the Catholic parish office of Stolac was requesting to rebuild the church in place of the mosque ruins. On the other hand, intellectuals

¹³¹ Mostar: Contribution to the Dialogue between Christianity and Islam, collection of private and public written materials by Don Luka Pavlovic.

from the Stolac Islamic Community (*medžlis*) were requesting to restore the mosque, which was destroyed in 1993. While this argument was taking place in the form of exchanging letters between the two feuding groups, tensions were rising among the local population. The major incident, which took place in 2001, provoked intervention from a SFOR platoon of the Spanish Battle Group, local and regional police and the IPTF. It is difficult to imagine a situation in which violent encounters occurred every single night for months, even years, and constantly being challenged in daily life, often with no possibility of anticipating forthcoming trouble.

Nobody knew for sure what the trigger was that sparked off the recent riots. According to local sources, however, it could have been a clash between a B-Croat and a construction worker. On Dec. 3, a stone was thrown from the building site, which hit and wounded an inhabitant. Later that day a group of about 25 people arrived at the site, dismantled the wooden fence and set it on fire.”¹³²

The person who led the mosque reconstruction offered his own account of this incident. There are discrepancies between this personal account and the SFOR report for the year when the incident was reported.

This café was a basement before the war, there was nothing here.” [...where we were sitting...] They [...the Croats...] wanted to make a Church of St. Anne in the place where the mosque used to be. I contacted our Mufti and we contacted people and the American Ambassador and we told them bloodshed was going to happen if they tried to do this [... they should prevent it...] and Kuzman [...name...] the Mayor, too.

I gathered sixty guys. We entered the space, fixed the door; I drove my car in and the next morning we started clearing the rubble. There was a Steering Committee for building and clearing the Mosque, whose members were Zoran Cerkez, Rusmir Mahmutčehajić, Zahir Tuka (spokesman), myself, Adisa Isaković, Amer Medar, Alep Dizdar. In one month we found the foundations of the Mosque and 150 Bošnjaci and the remains of the minaret (munara). After a while the Croats came and set the wooden plank on fire. It was a horrific scene. There were 14 of them and me and my friend. We all got fines of 360

¹³² SFOR Informer #128, December 12, 2001; report by 1st Lt. Pedro Fernández Vicente <http://www.nato.int/sfor/indexinf/128/p11a/t0111a.htm> (last accessed 13/04/2016)

KM but the police did their job and there were no clashes between us. All this was happening in 2002-2003. It was constant. (ST210712)

He connected this event to the on-going violence and incidents between local Croats and *Bosanci* (*Bosnians*), who were also Catholics (according to him) on one side, and Muslims on the other.

July 2001 – there was an incident, “they were stitching us for two days”. They were 1-1,500; they broke into my café, us only twenty. We all ended up with broken heads. That was the only time I went to the police but they didn’t intervene. I never went to the police again. They appointed a new Chief of Police who suggested I close down my café bar. (ST210712)¹³³

Further evidence suggests that continual violent incidents often took place in public spaces, sometimes just as provocations, bringing a permanent sense of insecurity.

They flew through our street twice. Alcohol, drugs. Youth... Juveniles, hu-ha, kids, they have no idea who is real Stoćanin. Their parents had no idea [...what their children were up to...] - they wouldn’t do something like this. There are still local incidents with sports fans, they get drunk and get into fights, young lads. (ST130413)

The Bregava bus [...bringing people to vote...] was stoned in the last elections [...2008]. They knew when it was scheduled to arrive from Sarajevo. Yes, our uncle came from Sarajevo and happened to be in the stoned bus. He was saying: “What is going on here? Why are they stoning us?” (FG240812)

Equally, organised resistance among the local population prevented attacks.

We were attacked on our return to the house in 1999. Throwing stones, shouting ‘Baliĵe’. While we were up there, I had one dog up there to guard the property, they were coming, removing flags. This was in Poplašići. There were thirty of us guys, really crazy and they were afraid of us. They wouldn’t mess with us. We didn’t have problems. They were not local rowdies – some were Bosanci, who were “cannon meat” and it was easy to persuade them. (ST210712)

¹³³ The story was confirmed in a separate interview.

While the perpetrators remain unknown and unprosecuted, these incidents seem to slowly fall into oblivion. On several occasions during the interviews I would ask if there were any incidents or violence after the war and the interviewees would give negative answers. Only after I asked further questions based on the specific information I already obtained, would the interviewees remember. This is particularly true for those who reside in Stolac permanently and for whom activities of everyday life become more meaningful.

It is forgotten. Now we remember [... when you asked us...] and went back down memory lane. We just want to live. We know well all that happened, but we want to live and move forward; you can't look in the past forever.
(FG240812)

The narrative of post-war violence suggests that it was a combination of attacks against returnees, criminal violence and opportunistic violence. At the end of the war Stolac was part of the independent 'Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia', whose establishment a few years earlier was fuelled by Bosnian-Croat irredentism (Bellamy 2003), and these local power structures were not prepared to accept that what seemed to be their war victory had to be territorially and organisationally reversed. Although I had no chance to interview any of them directly, over my many years in BiH I had opportunities to meet or read the statements of people who believed in an ethnically homogenous Croat Herzegovina, and were ready to use any means to achieve this. On the other hand, the same power structures were running sophisticated criminal rings from inside the town and in the surrounding area, which were disturbed by the return because it meant that local IPTF, SFOR and international donor agencies would be on their door-step, potentially uncovering the illegal business. Several interviewees, who were returning pre-war residents, strongly maintained that all the local Croats were involved in the illegal trade of tobacco, goods, cars, petrol and anything else, as it was an important sector of the local economy and it is possible that they were easily mobilised to commit acts of violence to protect their interests. This local violence sent a strong message at the start of the return and led to the escalation of violence. This situation was at odds with what happened during the war because there was no fighting between any Croats and Muslims. The situation started to improve after

the illegal car-market was shut, after the assassination of Jozo Leotar, and improved even more with the complete removal of war criminals and war-lords from the local administration and police.

6.1.2. Kotor Varoš

In Kotor Varoš, post-war violence was not prevalent in the same way as it was in Stolac. If I asked returnees if they had experienced violence or intimidation, the most frequent answer was: “Nobody touched us.” As I already knew from my experience in Stolac, this may have been a ‘go-to’ statement for those with suppressed memories rather than an accurate portrayal of the situation. On the other hand, as part of the study design, Kotor Varoš was selected as one of the two case studies because there were violent incidents related to returnees and their settlement, despite having the highest return rate of Muslim population in Republic Srpska. I knew I had to ask people specific questions to probe deeper and also have a broader conversation about their post-war life and settlement in the town. The first interviewee who reported a violent incident after return told a story about the destruction of her house in 1999 in Donja Varoš. The house is located just across the road from the local mosque and was used as the premises of the local Islamic Community and Islamic Humanitarian Organisation, ‘Merhamet’, because the mosque has been completely destroyed during the war. The family returned in August 1999 and the incident, in which a bomb was thrown at the house, took place in September or October of the same year. She says: *‘[w]e were in my father-in-law’s house [...across the road...] and the bomb went off around midnight. The house was damaged and we had to make a new roof afterwards.’* (KV151212)

Other interviewees reported individual incidents, usually intimidation rather than open violence or clashes on group bases. This is not to say that they were less traumatic for the victims, but I argue that they set a more amicable tone for community formation.

There was everything. Scaremongering of people. They wouldn't let them return [...because...] allegedly it was theirs, Serbian. In our municipality, except for the barricades, one lost a leg and one was killed here in Šiprage. The rest was mainly just intimidation, barricades, this and that. I wouldn't really call it incidents. They found out from which direction they [returnees] were coming and erected a barricade there. E.g. it is a known fact they are coming from Banja Luka and they place a barricade in Zabrdje. It was organised and individual. (FG131212)

Sometimes they would come during the night. They [returnees] were sleeping in the tents, and they would stop at the bridges, sing and start shooting in the air. They would bring dead cats on a stick, or a killed pig¹³⁴, saying your throats are going to be slit too. All this intimidation. (FG131212)

There were incidents. You know how it goes, they come and attack them but luckily nobody got hurt. Throwing insults like ' "You will never come back!" (KV250413a)

However, other interviewees reported intimidation on a smaller scale:

We returned to the village on 4 August 1999. When we arrived there were no things like that [incidents]. Anyone who wasn't asking for trouble didn't get it. There were no big incidents. One year they were carrying a flag [Serbian]. Last year they removed a plate [... with the village name...]. (KV250413c)

Following the same approach I used in Stolac, I decided to try to interview members of the Kotor Varoš police force and to search their records for local violent incidents. In contrast to Stolac, the Kotor Varoš local police were cooperative. After a short meeting with the Chief of Police, he explained the formal procedure, which entailed sending an official letter requesting access to their data on local violence. I did as instructed but did not get a response during my first stay and primary data collection. When I returned several months later to conduct the household survey, I contacted him and he told me that my request had been approved from Banja Luka and I was welcome back to the police station. He wasn't there on the day of the meeting so instead I interviewed his Deputy, who answered my questions and shared some facts. There had been one recorded incident on a

¹³⁴ To intimidate Muslims who don't eat pork meat.

nationalist basis since 2006 (meaning that someone was attacked because of their nationality). Several (Muslim) tombstones were destroyed in village of Šiprage back in 2001-2002. According to him, there were intimidations and insults when the return started but it was implemented with the presence of numerous police and IPTF, which helped prevent potentially more serious violence. He said there was no local radical groups but gave an example of provocations organised by the Ravnogorski Chetnik Movement in Šiprage in 2012. According to the Deputy, the biggest challenge to local security was criminal activity. He gave an example of the frequent break-ins and burglaries of the uninhabited houses of the returning pre-war local Croats, who had reclaimed and repaired their houses, but were still living and working abroad. Even more of a problem, something that was mentioned by other interviewees, was illegal cutting of private woods, particularly on the land of those who did not return. Because the Kotor Varoš municipality is rich in woodland, which is a difficult environment for policing, this is seen as an easy income, even though it is a criminal activity. In my own reflections on the attitude of the local police, I could not quite understand why they were so forthcoming - except that there was nothing to hide in the way that, perhaps, there was in Stolac. The Deputy Chief of Police's views of the local security issues in the town and municipality are consistent with the accounts of my interviewees.

For Stolac, I described the events of local violence that erupted between the local Muslims who were attempting to repair the Emperor's Mosque and Bosnian Croats, also local Croats and *Bosanci*, who were against this because they wanted to reinstate the old Christian Church from the 16th century. In Kotor Varoš, as an example of the absence of tensions on ethnic or religious bases, the local Catholic priest told me about an event that took place on 6th October 2012, few days before I moved there for my fieldwork. The Church unveiled a monument to the Croat victims of WWII (557 people) and the latest war (170). A massive procession, which started in Kotorišće, one of the Kotor Varoš neighbourhoods, composed of hundreds of Croats carrying a cross and other Christian symbols, walked through the town, concluding with a service at the Virgin Mary Church. According to the priest, "not only were there no incidents, but nobody uttered an ill-meaning

word.” (KV061112) There have also been no attempts to desecrate the memorial since its opening and I would have witnessed any such incidents during my stay in the town between October 2012 and May 2013. The priest concluded the story by saying “people want to live normal lives.” These two events in the two towns with very different outcomes happened a decade apart, which supports my argument about the temporal dimension of the post-war recovery. Had this event been organised in a year or two after the return started, it is highly likely that it would have provoked violent incidents but not to the extent of those in Stolac. In this thesis I argue that the changes in community relationships over time do not exist not because the war violence is forgotten or less relevant but because the post-war community is getting stronger.

Here, my aim is not to discuss the reasons for violence, although the interviewees often offered explanations for it. Violent incidents were the main obstacle for spatial integration because the community members could not interact in the space that lay within the geographic boundaries of the town. In Hillery’s model, spatial integration is the main point of fusion for interactions, sentiment, activity and space. As in the case of the wartime violence, I found that post-war violence did not have an adverse effect on sentiment and people’s attachment to space prevailed despite their traumatic experiences. Interactions, particularly between the pre-war and new community members were damaged, preventing people from establishing interactions in their everyday lives. The next sections focus on the peaceful interactions and explain how they contribute to community formation.

6.2. Neighbourhood Interactions

Despite the challenging situation of persistent anxiety and insecurity, people slowly settled into post-war life, either in their old neighbourhoods or in new ones. The reason for focusing on the neighbourhood interactions is primarily because I didn’t have the capacity to enter each household and document family life with the consistency and frequency required to enable me to draw conclusions about their

implication for community, but also because often it was easier to ask questions about social relations with neighbours than within families. Lastly, focusing on the neighbourhood level is an analytical tool that enables patterns of interactions to be observed, both for the pre-war population, housed in the new neighbourhoods, and the new settlers. Frankenberg (1969) makes the point that houses and estates are often seen as communities, and that in planning and developing communities, neighbourhood units are built for people not only to live but also to become 'good neighbours and friends' as a result of their constant interaction (p.197). The interplay of these two concepts offers multiple possibilities for analysis. Hillery (1959) recognizes that it may be difficult to draw a line between the neighbourhood and the community model, as they are likely to have the same elements and characteristics. However, in the case of BiH there is a clear distinction, as neighbourhood or *komsiluk* or *mahala* are socio-geographic references (Bringa 1995) and they certainly lack specific institutions and activities that characterise community. Furthermore, people in BiH would never refer to their neighbourhood as their community.

In the first empirical chapter I showed spatial and population changes in the two towns and discussed types of residence status. In both places, new neighbourhoods were built for new settlers and people who lived in these neighbourhoods often came from different places and did not know each other until they were settled in adjacent houses. Thus, the analysis in this section focuses on how new settlers and new neighbourhoods were integrated into the wider, post-war community, geographically and socially. This section argues that the way new neighbourhoods were built prevented spatial integration, particularly interactions and activities, and made integration of the new settlers into the community quite challenging. The decision about where to situate new neighbourhoods was made by the local authorities and this section will consider whether and to what extent it may have been aimed at segregation of local population. This links to the discussion on the role of the local politics influencing post-war community formation. This is also related to Chapter Four, where I illustrated how local power structures control community resources and give

preferential treatment to specific ethnic groups who are likely to be their voters. Finally, this section examines the interactions between the new settlers and locals in the old neighbourhoods.

In the Balkans, a neighbourhood or *komšiluk* is a place where the key social interactions in the community take place. It is a nucleus of communal life. Neighbours help each other with houses, gardens or fields. Because they live close to each other, neighbours are often more supportive and have closer ties than with their kin, particularly if they live further away. One interviewee, a Serb, described their relationship with their Muslim neighbours as deep and emotional, as many of them were, but also as an important safety network during the war:

During the war they were very afraid because she was an invalid and whatever he needed to do had to be very slow. And because the distance between our two houses was only 4m, they installed a bell to our living room in case somebody invaded their house during the night so they can alarm my parents and my grandmother to come and help them because that was a time when, probably, the fact that you have a Serb friend meant something.
(KV270612)

To investigate the importance and role of neighbourhood ties, in the study survey I asked respondents where they socialised most before the war. 72% of the respondents in Stolac and 64.2% in Kotor Varoš said they mostly socialised in their neighbourhood, followed by a person's home (visiting another person) and their workplace. For the question: "During the day, who do you spend most time with?" 50% of the respondents in Stolac and 38.4% respondents in Kotor Varoš said neighbours. Other answers were spouse – 49.3% and 50.3%; children – 42.7% and 57.6%; family (extended) – 26.7% and 38.4% and friends – 26.7% and 13.9%. These answers show that neighbourhood plays a prominent role in daily interactions and the day-to-day lives of people in both places. The main changes in the patterns of socialising (who people see on a regular basis and occasionally) occurred because a respondent's closest social circles no longer lived in the community (73% in Stolac and 46.7% in Kotor Varoš selected this answer). Other most frequently selected reasons were: I don't work; I have no work colleagues

(26.7% in Stolac and 15% in Kotor Varoš); and I don't have money for socialising (18.3% in Stolac and 20% in Kotor Varoš). Annex 4 provides additional results from the author's survey for each of the neighbourhoods.

Although I anticipated familiarity within neighbourhoods, I wasn't expecting that almost 100% of respondents would report knowing their neighbours personally. One significant difference is that in Stolac 97% of the respondents visit their neighbours on religious holidays, in contrast to 80% in Kotor Varoš. Moreover, in Stolac 80% of the respondents say they regularly drink coffee with their neighbours, in contrast to 55% in Kotor Varoš, where all the different regular activities with neighbours are reported to be less than in Stolac. In both places people know a lot of personal information about their neighbours (such as name, age, school that the children attend, marital status, birthdays, among others). Finally, around 85% of the respondents in both places feel very strongly or fairly strongly that they belong to the neighbourhood. In the section below I describe and analyse how some of the interviewees talked about interactions with their neighbours and associated cultural practices.

6.2.1. Coffee Drinking and Visiting

Anthropologists working on BiH have written about and interrogated the role of the neighbourhood extensively. A typical cultural practice among neighbours, and the one that received most attention in the existing literature, is meeting to drink coffee and socialise. Bringa (1995) writes that "[c]offee-visiting was not only the major social activity of married women but it was critical in integrating the Muslim and Catholic communities in the village" (p.67). During these events, important local information is exchanged as well. Other studies of post-war BiH found that the social and cultural practices of the neighbourhoods play an important role in facilitating return and the reconciliation process, as a central point of interaction between the local population and returnees (Helms 2010; Stefansson 2010) These studies focus on the social aspect of neighbourhoods and embedded cultural

practices, arguing that the need to critically examine the international peacebuilding paradigm that, in BiH and through the DAP, largely focused on the return of displaced people and fostering inter-ethnic coexistence and cooperation. However, they don't investigate the role of the social coffee drinking for establishing ties and socialisation of new settlers, for whom this was a primary point of interactions.

This custom was also a way for the pre-war population in the communities and new settlers to get to know each other. After new people acquired a house, either through purchase or as a humanitarian donation, they would go and knock on their neighbours' doors to say hello and invite them in for coffee. I followed the same practice when I started doing interviews in Stolac with women at the local NGO and took a large bag of coffee for our first session and some sweets to accompany it. This is a standard practice in BiH and also where I grew up in Vojvodina. You always take a pack of 100 grams of coffee for any home visit, irrespective of how well you know the hosts. I found it interesting that in the small shops in both towns you can still see older women buying coffee and then asking for it to be wrapped up in white paper, the way I remember my grandmother used to do so, to take to someone for a home visit. Alas, my coffee present to NGO was not that well received because I brought the wrong brand of coffee. They, of course didn't say anything at first, but later they taught me which two brands are the best for mixing and we had a laugh about my 'uneducated' guess. This joke and their ability to laugh at my mistake came was indicative of diminishing boundaries for me as a researcher in the field.

When I interviewed two new settlers, women who now live in Vidovo Polje in Stolac but came from two different towns in central Bosnia as IDPs, I asked them how they became acquainted. Both of them, and their families, received houses as a donation and were placed in the same street. They said:

[After moving to the houses in the main street]. First we saw each other, then introduced ourselves: where are you from, how are you? And that's how it started. Come and visit me to have coffee, you to my house, me to yours, and

that's how it all fit together nicely. And not just between the two of us but this whole street. (ST270612)

A woman from Kotor Varoš who was from the municipality but had migrated because of the war to a different settlement (part of the town), and who knew no-one there, provided a similar account:

I didn't know anyone. You know how it goes: 'Hi, how are you?'¹³⁵ You visit her for coffee, she visits you and that's how it goes. (KV250413)

But this was not always the case, particularly between the new settlers and locals. Sometimes people didn't like their new neighbours and they would refuse this little custom, which would make it extremely difficult for new people to integrate.

For example, my gran doesn't drink coffee with those people who bought a house from aunty xx, she doesn't drink coffee and socialise in that way, but she does say hello. They don't even visit each other for family saint celebrations and we live under the same roof, the same roof. And we stayed really close with the old neighbours. (KV261112)

For some neighbours the war spoiled relationships and affected their interactions but for others it did not. Two women in the same neighbourhood, which suffered extensively during the war - the complete population was forcefully displaced and a number of people killed - gave contrasting accounts. One claimed that the neighbourhood changed very little; while the other one described such a big change that nothing resembled what it used to be.

People changed a lot, everyone is turned to themselves. It might be that hatred grew or... komšilik is not what it used to be. My first neighbour [...pre-war...] didn't come into my house for a year, her into mine or me into hers, but we didn't have a fall-out ever, she has a plot of land there [...next to my house...] and when I see sowing, we stop and talk. But not [... nods her head in denial...]. And she had [...great...] mother in law and a husband, they respected my children and myself, you can't imagine. I don't know, is it this massive force that hit people, I don't know, I don't know what to tell you, I am worried I might say something wrong. (KV250413b)

¹³⁵ Typical way of greeting in Bosnia 'Đe si kako si?'

People here are good. There are no quarrels or feuds. If someone gets ill you go and visit them, their family comes as well. You take a box of biscuits.
(KV250413a)

The difference between the two accounts may be because the first woman was older and she was talking about her neighbour who had been through similar traumatic war experiences, because they are from the same place: next door. The second one was a generation younger and living in a new in the neighbourhood; although she had also had traumatic war experiences, she encountered different dynamics in a neighbourhood that was new for her.

6.2.2. When Neighbourhood Ties Are Troubled

Neighbourhood is often seen as a positive force in the community, but this is not always the case. Because in BiH communities are so tightly knit, both socially and physically, neighbours often cross boundaries, intrude and breach each other's privacy. Neighbourhood is often a source of gossip and control, as well as rifts and conflicts in a community, which can extend to families and networks of friends. One typical saying in BiH (and the Balkans in general) is *komšilik*, which has negative connotation and illustrates ill feelings between neighbours. In English it can be translated as '*I wish for the neighbours' cow to drop dead.*' This captures the intrinsic negativity of neighbourhood relations, such as envy, disagreements, scorn, even hatred. Particularly in the places where women are housewives and stay at home during the day, or where there are several generations in one household, the elderly carefully watch and observe their neighbours: who comes to the house and who leaves; was there an 'inappropriate' visit to a woman while her husband was out? Did the children do something to shame the family? Last, it is not uncommon for neighbours to have bitter and sometimes violent disputes that can range from property and land issues to money and any aspect of social relations. A common fall-out between neighbours is over land, where there are often no physical boundaries between plots of land and instead a rock called

medja, which means 'physical border,' is used. A border might be moved one or two metres in either direction, setting off a bitter feud. Sometimes, people would do it just to annoy their neighbours, or sometimes because they were trying to steal their land.

As an example of poor neighbourhood relationships, one interviewee told me a story of the local water supply in one of the villages adjacent to Kotor Varoš, which has been disconnected from the main water supply since the war. Local authorities represented by nationalist political parties are reported use distribution of electricity and water scarce to maintain the pressure on local minority returnees. To solve this problem, a local man decided to build a water supply canal to bring water to his house from a nearby natural spring, but for that he had to build across his neighbour's land. His neighbour, my interviewee, granted him access after several others refused, and after the work was completed, with his own investment, it turns out that his plan was to profit from this water supply by selling water connections for 6,000 KM each to individual households. The business boomed quickly because everyone needed access to drinking water in the absence of the public supply. My interviewee also purchased a water connection but several months later her neighbour, the water supply owner, turned up at her house in the evening and told her he had to cut off her access, apparently because he wasn't getting enough water pressure for his household, so he returned her payment. She pleaded with him not to do it because it was January and she had two small children with her in the house, her grandchildren, but he did it nevertheless. She got rather upset and decided to retaliate by cutting into his water canal on her land with a hoe. As a result, they have not talked since - and his house is just across the road.

Out of all the stories from the interviews and informal discussions, those portraying good neighbourhood relationships were prevalent. Neighbourhood provides opportunities for communication, but several stories related in this thesis point out that they were far from ideal, which is of course the case elsewhere in the

world, not just in BiH. The stories of hostility and disagreements referred to issues such as personal choice as to whether people liked their neighbours, interest in communal matters or private interests. Neighbourhood, when stable and untroubled, provides opportunities for communicative interactions, which are critical for a sense of community (Doolittle and Macdonald 1978). In a similar vein, in the context of displacement and return, anthropologists who worked in BiH saw neighbourhoods as 'informal cultural codes of communication' (Helms 2010; Stefansson 2010) that may facilitate social interactions, including economic cooperation. At the same time, they saw it as being a space for dialogue, where stories are exchanged by parties who were on opposite sides in the war, and for sharing truth. As my interviewee who no longer exchanges visits with her neighbours kept dwelling on this issue and trying to understand why this was the case, she also felt isolated from her immediate environment.

6.3. Other Spaces For Interactions

Interactions happen in daily life between community members at various levels of social organisation. Thus far, I have shown that following the war, interactions were antagonistic and often ethnic violence frequent between pre-war settlers and returnees in Stolac, although less problematic in Kotor Varoš. Violence was more prominent between younger people and in most cases was targeting returnees, who were Muslims in both Stolac and Kotor Varoš, creating a major obstacle to peaceful and cooperative social relations. This is particularly relevant as such violence has a detrimental impact on the cultivation of integration and cohesion between the pre-war community members and new settlers. Violence and hostilities decreased over time, I argue, mainly as a result of quotidian life in the communities. To understand this dynamic process in the communities, the remainder of the chapter will focus on different levels of community organisation, spatial and social alike, such as neighbourhood, family and personal relations. The reason for this is partly built from my own experience of living in the country and the literature on BiH and partly from the Grounded Theory work that I detailed in the theoretical chapter. Apart from the personal sphere of everyday life,

interactions happen in workplaces and through participation in formal and informal local groups. Given that my study had a specific age limitation, interviewing nobody born after 1977, I found that their sphere of interactions is mostly in this personal, everyday sphere. In Hillery's community model, used in this study, interactions are defined as member-interawareness, whereas socialisation (including education) and recreation (including community events, children's games) and mutual aid are defined as institutions. As I explained in the theoretical framework, the study understands these as mechanisms that enable or prevent interactions, rather than institutions. In speaking to people in local language they would use local words that correspond to socialisation (*družimo se*), usually describing a form of activity such as going for a walk, visiting, or spending time together. In this context, interactions should be understood as an analytical category used to understand the social milieu and activities, but this is not how the respondents referred to them. In the survey, a number of questions addressed directly the issues of socialising and solidarity between the post-war community members with a permanent residence in the towns where the community is being formed. I also found that older generations, with the exclusion of the women's organisation I worked with in Stolac, are not inclined to actively participate in local organisations. The next section discusses neighbourhood interactions, which include a mix of positive and negative examples, but reveal the nuances of life next door. Neighbourhood interactions between the former community members or with the new members need to be understood within the framework of the social memories of the recent violence, which remain persistent in the background of community formation.

I discussed member-interawareness in the previous chapter, specifically how it related to community membership and attachment to place and the sense of community, which results from being part of a group. I found this to be typical for Stolac, where all the community members were aware of the others, even the new settlers. My impression was that this wasn't the case in Kotor Varoš, possibly because it is a larger town. In Stolac, the pre-war settlers knew almost everyone by their first name; if not, then they knew them by their family name, but this was not

the case for the new members. As I showed earlier in the survey results, Kotor Varoš had a larger influx of people from rural areas, which could be another explanation; however several interviewees pointed out that that, even though they came from the rural villages, they used to attend secondary school before the war so they knew the townspeople.

To answer one of the sub-questions of the thesis, which asks what motivates community members to interact, I asked the interviewees simply where and how they spend time with others. Interactions are essential for community. One of the interviewees reported shopping in the local supermarket and having casual conversations with those she knows including shop assistants; for her, this is one of the places to exchange information about what is happening in the communities. She also reported attending church services every Sunday, although, as I spent time with her on a daily basis because she looked after my daughter, she often attended church services during the week as well. Almost every evening she would go to the local playground, the main place for socialising for women and children. During my first days of living in the town, particularly in Stolac, I spent time walking around towns with my daughter and observing public places where people socialize. In Stolac, apart from the cafés, there was also a playground in the centre of the town, where mainly mothers and children would get together every evening to socialize while children were playing. Because I was there with a small daughter, we used to go to the playground everyday as well and soon I was able to recognize the faces of the children and their mothers and have casual conversations with them. The playground was built as part of the UNICEF Social Protection and Inclusion project in 2011 and a result of local initiative, in which the community members were encouraged to come up with an action plan for an activity that would benefit the community, and which UNICEF supported financially. Finally, my interviewee would visit her parents who live in a small village almost every weekend where she was helping them with agricultural work, around the house, and any other chores. Sometimes she would go to a café with her friends, usually in the evening. Socialising is affected by the season, because in the winter she is more likely to visit friends at home and they would stay in the

house. She also reported being more likely to socialise with women than with men. Gender division was mentioned by other female interviewees and this is something I observed as well, mainly seeing men in cafés and later noting that socialising is either between couples or between persons of the same gender. Another interviewee, who is a widow, reported that she goes for a walk regularly with her other female friends but doesn't often socialise in public places (such as cafés). This interviewee added that she regularly visits her mother in Čitluk on weekends. One more widower said she doesn't socialise in public places because of her family obligations associated to the fact that she has an elderly mother. She usually visits friends or her cousins in Visici, a nearby village. In the greenhouses where she works, she also socialises. *"We laugh together"* she says and continues *"we are like one family, we work in summer and winter, we are a group; we have our driver, 4-5 women who go to work."* They also socialise after work and this is a rare example of what used to be the most common place for socialising before the war, as I will discuss in the next section. One of the interviewees, who is new in the community, expressed how she socialises with her family, with whom she shares a house and until recently a household on an almost daily basis, as well as with neighbours and sometimes walking in the neighbourhood. Another new settler reported more socialising with women and visiting neighbours but also said that her friends are of different generations: "when I meet children from Folklor, they all hug me and kiss me" (ST270612). Several Christian interviewees reported going to church on Sunday, but also said there is a mass on TV at 11 am, so they regularly watched that. I also witnessed some of the male interviewees attending the mosque on a regular basis and all of this indicates the importance of religion that perhaps wasn't so present before the war, but they have also become places to meet community members. In the Annex 5 I presented analysis of the survey data showing patterns of socialising and interactions in the two communities, which I will summarise in the conclusion. The key to interactions at the level of primary groups, family and friends, is that they can override the situations in which there is formal segregation, such as in Stolac.

This raises a question of the role of public spaces in facilitating interactions between the community members, which I discussed earlier in the thesis. One interviewee, who defines himself as a Croatian nationalist, offered an example. We met in the restaurant “San Pjero” for the interview, which is situated in a building that used to be Cultural Centre before the war. The owner, Pero, has renovated the lower floor for the restaurant. It trades without necessary permits, especially sanitary permits and has been subject to health inspection several times but he hasn’t lost his licence, despite the discovered irregularities. It is a “Croat” restaurant, according to my interviewee. On the other side of the town, close to petrol station, is the ‘Bosniak’ Restaurant “Behar”. But my interview continues to explain how ‘San Pjero transforms into a multi-ethnic restaurant on Fridays because they serve fish and “everyone likes it, so everyone comes to eat.” (ST160412)

6.3.1. Example Of Workplace

Unemployment was reported to be the biggest challenge for post-war life. At the time of my fieldwork, Stolac had around 2,000¹³⁶ unemployed people of working age ** and around 900 employed, but many of them worked in Mostar or abroad. Equally important is that the lack of workplaces created a lack of opportunity for daily interactions between the community members. Before the war, one of the local factories, “Inkos,” employed around 1,100 local women in its factories in Stolac and Berkovici. In fact, most of the women from Stolac that I interviewed used to work in this factory. This created opportunities for daily interactions for those who worked there and many of them reported socialising with their work colleagues after the war as well. However, this was not enough to keep informal contacts for socialising after the war, even if they spent decades working together. One interviewee reported that she still sees her former work colleagues, Croats, and how they greet each other politely, but don’t stop to enquire further. (ST260712)

¹³⁶ <https://www.szzhnz-k.ba/pdf/bilteni/bs/2013/6.pdf> (last accessed 11/03/2016)

Several privately owned companies operate with a small number of employees (10-100), such as “AL-Co” d.o.o.Stolac; fish factory ‘Zuvela-HB’ d.o.o.; “M F” doo Stolac; Hercegovinainvest doo Stolac; factory for repurchase and production of tobacco; Stolački podrumi d.o.o.Stolac, for wine production; Zlatna dolina d.o.o. for flour production (unicef, strategija razvoja). Most of the companies that operated before the war no longer exist in the towns, including TGA Stolac; Enterijer d.o.o.Stolac-tvornica namještaja; Metal-Ferum“d.o.o.Stolac-tvornica metalnog namještaja; Inkos d.o.o; Stolac-tvornica tekstilnih proizvoda; and Radimlja d.o.o. Stolac - ugostiteljsko društvo. As I discussed earlier, modernization and the opening of the factories took place in the 1970s and created around 5,000 workplaces. Of all these workplaces, only the fish factory is reported to employ women of all nationalities in the same way that, for example, the former Inkos factory used to do so before the war. But, according to some interviewees, the factory was under a lot of pressure from the local authorities and some influential people to close down to prevent interactions between women from different ethnic groups. I haven’t been able to verify these claims but three of the women I interviewed used to work in the factory. They confirmed that women of all nationalities worked there and a way to get work was through personal contacts. (FG260412) The work was available only occasionally because the fish that is being processed and packed there is from the Adriatic and the quantity depended on the availability and season. The factory now employs only a few dozen women at most, which is incomparable to the number of over a thousand that used to work and meet at Inkos before the war on a daily basis. The fish factory was reported in the discussions of local livelihoods and portrayed by the interviewees as a place of inter-ethnic interactions. The interviews revealed that references to ethnic relations are dominant in their narratives, even when the examples provided are positive. Another instance of this is the discussion about the privatisation of Inkos factory.

Several of the women I interviewed and met as friends of the interviewees undertake seasonal work in nearby Croatia in green houses picking strawberries and later in the summer working in orchards and vineyards. They are of Croatian

nationality and have Croatian passports, which mean they are legally allowed to work in Croatia undertaking these small agricultural jobs. They would leave Stolac at around four in the morning, usually with the driver, and return in the evening after a whole day of hard labour in the field. They would return in the evening and usually come to the playground for a short amount of time, always extremely tired. Again, this is a small group of close friends who have been working on these jobs for many years, including some women from the NGO in Stolac. However, this is an example where a friendship facilitates work opportunities, rather than a workplace facilitating interactions, although working together and being friends enabled interactions at different levels.

In Kotor Varoš the situation with local factories is rather different. There is one big factory called “Sportek”, which is privately owned by an Italian investor. The factory was opened in 2000 and had been successfully operating for more than a decade when I was conducting my fieldwork. Employees receive the minimum wage for BiH of 400 KM per month but they also have their pension and social security covered in accordance with the Labor Law of RS. The factory started with 300 workers and expanded to 1,200 in 2013. They produce sports shoes and specialist sports equipment, among other assorted products. All the workers receive on the job training so anyone, regardless of their education and qualifications, can work in the factory. The parents of my main informant about the factory both work there, as well as the daughter in law of an elderly woman from whom I rented a room. During the survey implementation, several respondents reported working in the factory. There is no discrimination as to who gets a job, so this provides an opportunity for everyone working in the factory to interact with other residents in the town. In this way, daily interactions are facilitated through their workplace and this also increases the possibility of member-interawareness. Moreover, community members have an opportunity to learn about each other, which they likely would not have otherwise had. Before 1991, the same company ‘Proleks’ that is now ‘Sportek’ was the biggest production facility in Kotor Varoš, employing 1097 workers. ‘Bosna’ factory had 233 workers; ‘Jelisengrad – FMU’ had 233; a public company in charge of wood resources had 446 employees; the factory ‘Prerada Drveta’ and ‘Drvoprerada’ had 71, both producing high quality

wood and wooden furniture for export.¹³⁷

In addition to this, the workplace is a community itself; building a sense of community and belonging contributes to workers' happiness and security (Bruhn 2011). Indeed, the possibility of connections and communications is foremost from this point of view and Kotor Varoš definitely has a comparative advantage over Stolac. If a workplace is observed as a small community with a positive environment, elements of the community are further enhanced, such as tolerance, mutual aid and willingness to overcome conflict (Nirenberg, 1993). These acquired skills will potentially be transferred to the other communities in which members are embedded and operate on a daily basis. Pickering (2007:126) also argues that a mixed workplace provides the opportunity for people to "...feel free to establish ties of varying intimacy with colleagues."

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter provided examples of what facilitates interactions between the community members at different levels of social organisation: pre-war population and new settlers, which also correspond to different ethnic groups; and neighbourhood and personal interactions between friends, family and in the workplace. I conceptualised social relations between individuals and groups in the two towns as being on a continuum ranging from open violence at one extreme and daily, peaceful interactions at the other, with uneasy coexistence and segregation in the middle. The main focus of the chapter was to show how post-war residents in the town go through stages of first getting to know each other, then they start to socialise and develop stronger bonds. On the one hand, interactions in the town were violent at the community level, while among family and friends they were rather peaceful and based on solidarity and mutual support. Neighbourhood, as the transitional level, had both. This chapter also explored the nature of the interactions between the pre-war population and new settlers, two

¹³⁷ Document: Development Strategy of Kotor Varoš 2010-2020

groups that had never met before the war. as well as interactions among the pre-war settlers, who had different experiences during the war.

In the years following the war, open violence in Stolac and uneasy coexistence in Kotor Varoš were typical for the first five years. This chapter started by discussing post-war violence, which was ethnic in nature. In Stolac, the violence was between the pre-war settlers returning to the town, whose aim was to get their pre-war life back, and the new settlers, Bosnian Croats, who arrived during the war. They were targeting the pre-war settlers in actions like stoning the buses with returnees; personal attacks on individuals; arson and threats. Between the young people, violent clashes took place in cafés on a daily basis, almost every night. In the first years of the return, between 1996 and 2001, security was poor and the violence was prevalent, although some members took a great risk to interact with their pre-war friends. One of the returnees reported that in 1997, on the night of his permanent return and settlement in the town, his pre-war friend, a Croat, picked him up in his car and drove him everywhere around Stolac and they spent the whole night talking. (ST180812) For many others, living in a ghetto that was guarded by international peacebuilding forces was everyday reality. At this stage, despite occasional personal contacts, there were two communities in Stolac: the pre-war residents and the new settlers, divided by post-war violence. Based on the responses in my interviews that Bosnians were paid to commit these violent acts, this should be also understood as an act of creating cohesion among them and reinforcing boundaries between them and returnees. Local Muslims, in their accounts of the violence, did not refer to the perpetrators as Croats but more often as Bosnians (*Bosanci*), which means that the boundary clearly outlined not just the ethnicity but also the place of origin, which was outside the town.

While Stolac was establishing two communities of pre-war residents and new settlers, the situation in Kotor Varoš was different. First, there was no open post-war violence, but there was intimidation and scaremongering of returnees. On the other hand, new settlers, who were mainly Serbs, were integrated in the town

community through living and working there. Kotor Varoš has several factories that were operating almost immediately from the end of the war, which provided an opportunity for community members to meet and interact in a meaningful way. Neighbourhoods still hold the greatest potential for daily interactions between the town residents. I provided examples where neighbourhood interactions played a vital role in building the local community, but also where they were reported as being seriously disrupted by the war.

7. Conclusion

Despite the war, BiH has remained an ethnically diverse country and has avoided reoccurrence of civil war since 1995. Both of these outcomes should be considered as major achievements. For the duration of this study I was thinking about whether I would be able to present the nuances of ordinary people's lives in an academically meaningful way. The literature that assessed the BiH peacebuilding process five to ten years after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement¹³⁸ was not optimistic about the possibility of a successful and permanent recovery. At the point of writing this conclusion, I have come to realise some simple truths: I was able to live in Stolac and Kotor Varoš in 2012 and 2013 with running water, electricity and access to health facilities. Moreover, people were laughing, children were going to school and there were no violent incidents during my stay of more than a year. Everyday life I was able to document is the result of the effort and dedication that town residents put into restoring their lives despite their recent experiences of the violent conflict. Although I was often warned by my supervisors to 'be careful not to romanticise the past or the present', and here it might seem that I am doing just that, I feel it is important to acknowledge what I have seen as positive developments, brought about by very hard working people, among whom I lived during my fieldwork and whose life stories informed this thesis.

¹³⁸ As discussed in the Introduction of the thesis

The aim of this thesis was to explore the post-war community formation and the dynamics of this process. It focused on geographically bound communities to explain why people decide to build their lives in the places destroyed by violent conflict. To do so I used Hillery's model, which defines community as physical and social space containing five basic elements: interactions, space, activities, sentiment and institutions. This thesis's primary focus was social interactions among the town's¹³⁹ residents; sentiment, which I defined as sense of community and place attachment; and the physical places that through interaction with community members became spaces that make community. I used this model to answer the main question of the thesis: how is the post war-community formed in places affected by violence during the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina? The thesis started by discussing community loss owing to exposure to war violence, and continued with analysis of the post-war community formation by focusing on the dynamics of everyday life.

This concluding chapter summarises the findings, main arguments and conclusions of the study. In the first section of this chapter I restate the main arguments of the thesis. This is followed by a discussion of the thesis sub-questions that guided the empirical chapters and provided guidance for answering the main question of the thesis. Last, the chapter outlines gaps in the study and makes recommendations for further research.

7.1. Focus of the Study and Arguments

This study draws on the work of Tonnies, Durkheim and Simmel, who juxtaposition 'community' and 'society', in its investigation into the way people are connected at these two levels of social organisation. In this thesis I argued that while ethnicity is a context of contemporary BiH society, as it was before the war, it is not the main driver of people's everyday behaviours, particularly at the community level. This is because social processes of everyday life continue outside

¹³⁹ Where the town is understood as a community within geographic boundaries.

the frame of ethnicity and despite the experience of violence. I also draw on the work of Lubkemann and his use of 'everyday', which I conceptually anchored in the work of Lefebvre and Certeau on everyday life. Lubkemann (2008) and Nordstrom (1997) use the concept of everyday in the context of war to show that life projects under violence are not very different to those under peace, and argue that they are just taking place under dramatically changed conditions (Lubkemann 2008: 14). I argued that using community as a conceptual framework and analytical optic allows for a greater understanding of the nature of the current BiH society, with the aim of avoiding what Brubaker (2004) calls ethnic groupism. The focus of the thesis are geographic communities which I understand as what Certeau (1984:117) defines as the "space produced by the practice of particular place." This thesis found that communities in current BiH society based on locale exist, although their physical boundaries are permeable, and their members find ways to interact through daily life.

The towns of Stolac and Kotor Varoš suffered community loss to war violence, which destroyed both its physical structure and the social relations. I argued that despite community loss, a sense of community is maintained among the community members through sense of belonging, shared history and strong place attachment, which motivated people to build after the war. I further argued that for the community to exist all the elements need to be established, where the everyday life is a mechanism of achieving balance between them.

The difference between these two towns is in the intensity and nature of violence, in the presence and absence of formal segregation and the extent of structural change. Kotor Varoš maintained one third of its pre-war population and their everyday life continued during the war. In Kotor Varoš, interactions, norms and activities continued, which allowed for the gradual integration of the new settlers, most of who were refugees. The integration of returnees, predominantly the Muslim population, was relatively peaceful and despite discrimination against them in some aspects of communal life, there is no formal segregation. Most

importantly, it has a new factory that employs over 1,000 workers who meet and interact on daily bases. In contrast, Stolac was almost completely destroyed and lost its entire pre-war population, which was replaced by new settlers from Bosnia. The main obstacle to community formation in Stolac is the difference in the vision of their community between the pre-war residents and new settlers, owing to a lack of shared history or difference in institutions, sentiment and sense of belonging. Under such circumstances, and owing to the formal segregation of the local institutions, it is easy for local ethnonationalist government and public figures on both sides, Muslim and Croat, to impose and reinforce ethnic divisions. In short, their political project is to maintain segregation. But the NGO I worked with, the health centre that everyone attends or the fish factory where local women work are examples of how the practice of the everyday creates alternative spaces that are not segregated. In 2013 much of Stolac's cultural heritage has been repaired and reconstructed, which gives an opportunity for new settlers to accept it as a communal space. The main boundary in Stolac is between the two spaces: one that existed until 1993 and the one that started after 1993, both existing in one place. Therefore, the community that is slowly emerging in Stolac will be a negotiation between the old and new, but it would be different to the one existed before the war.

Chapter One contextualised the thesis by providing a general geographic, political and administrative overview of BiH after the war, particularly the consequences of the country's division by the Dayton Peace Agreement and the consequences of the violence. It also asked the main questions to be addressed by the study. To answer these questions the thesis engaged with different bodies of literature, which were outlined in Chapter Two. I used these analytical concepts to understand what makes a community, and how people behave in everyday life and towards each other, but also to understand the nature of community change. The idea of a shared emotional connection originates in classical sociological thought in the works of Tonnies and Durkheim, particularly the concept of *Gemeinschaft*, which states that emotional connection is based on locale. Ensuing literature, starting from Simmel's idea that people are embedded in networks at different organizational levels of

society, broadly investigated and developed new theories about understanding community and social groups. Community sentiment in this study is defined as a psychological sense of community and is specifically developed through the concept of place attachment in order to address the connection between the space and the social. The chapter also engages with the concept of boundaries and theoretical links between community and ethnicity. Finally, the Chapter Two provides the theoretical background for understanding violence and its impact.

Chapter Three investigated community loss owing to exposure to three forms of violence between 1992 and 1995: forced displacement, deadly violence and material destruction. It continues by analysing the post-war community formation after the end of the Bosnian war in 1995. I found that people in Stolac had a stronger 'town ethnocentrism' and in many instances believed that it had superiority over other places. This sentiment was reinforced by violent destruction of the town and was the main factor in securing its continuance, which I discussed in Chapters Four and Five. I argued that physical spaces within the town borders, as well personal space, play an important role in community formation and for overcoming ethnic boundaries and boundaries created through violence. The role of common spaces where community members can interact proved not just the possibility for the existence of interethnic social order (Hromadzic 2011), but also for old and new community members. However, I demonstrated that space is not just a tool for facilitating interactions but also for establishing members' presence in the community. Chapter Six focused on interactions between the community members, arguing that they change over time and range from open post-war violence at one end to peaceful, cooperative interactions at the other. The chapter also discussed the role of local nationalist political groups and cultural and social practices in interactions. It also showed that at the basic levels of social organisation, like family and friendship, personal interactions were maintained even during the period of post-war violence through practices of everyday life like marriage, socialising or building a house.

7.2. Discussion of Findings

Violence

BiH was the scene of brutal and destructive civil war, which affected everyone who lived in the country. It was not the primary intention of this study to investigate people's experience of violence, as it focused on understanding local social processes during the post-war period. But through interviews and informal discussions stories about violence emerged as meta-data (Fujii 2010) and it became an important aspect of the study, because for the targeted population it had been the major turning point in life and also became one of the defining factors in people's social relations. As argued earlier in the thesis, the political leaders of opposing ethnic communities in this violent conflict held mutually exclusive visions of ethnic identities, borders and power within BiH and former Yugoslavia, which was the motivation for desired change. While this vision was primarily owned by the political and intellectual elites who masterminded the war, it quickly cascaded down to the local level and to individuals who used to share life and live side by side in ethnically, culturally and religiously mixed communities. As a result, people were targeted by violence mainly because of their ethnicity or their political standing that fit with or was opposing national hegemonies that were dominant during the war. This was the case both in Stolac and Kotor Varoš. The violence was the main factor for the community loss but also for overcoming its impact and consequences, which became a project of post-war communities.

I argued in the thesis that the process of community transformation started with a loss of community to violence during the war. I followed Eriksen's (1976) approach, where he described loss of community and of 'communality' to distinguish between the physical community and social relations, in the town of Buffalo Creek. Through displacement, material destruction and killings, the violence eroded the space, the community membership together with interactions and activities, three of the five essential community elements posed by Hillery (1959). Documenting community loss in the thesis was based on the narratives of

the past experience of violence but also on memories of the pre-war past, where people recounted ethnographic evidence of their towns and the nature of social relations. Even though the narratives of the past recounted events that had taken place two decades earlier, in 1992 and 1993, they were surprisingly accurate and often very detailed. This was true for the memories of the pre-war life too.

The thesis also argues that violence does not destroy a sense of community, at least not all of its dimensions. More specifically the study showed that membership, defined as sense of belonging and interrelatedness, is preserved between the pre-war community members as well as the shared emotional connection, which is derived from sharing history, common places and time together. These are also elements that, according to Hillery's model, ensure the continuity of the community. Sense of belonging was particularly strongly maintained among the residents of Stolac and I argued that this was the leading motivation for post-war community building in the same space.

I argued that violence became integrated into local social spaces and social relations, even though people did not constantly talk about it. However, memories of the violence and their narration still shape the present behaviours of the group (Halbwachs and Coser 1992: 32)¹⁴⁰. At the same time, people also had memories of pre-war life, both individual and collective, which were in dynamic interplay with memories of the violence, because violence does not wipe out the past and memories of it by destroying the physical community (Nordstrom 1997a). The way that violence creates group boundaries is not easily observable because people carry it with them silently, but I revealed how the local ethnonationalist groups easily bring it out into the public arena when there is a need to do so.

Interactions

¹⁴⁰ Introduction by Lewis A. Coser

The second element of the community the thesis focused on was interactions. I showed that they varied across different groups and across time: they ranged from violent clashes over many years between the pre-war residents and new settlers in Stolac, to socializing among the pre-war residents in both places. Ethnicity was one of the important factors determining interactions, but not the only one. Stolac is in the Federation of BiH, where formal segregation of local organisations, particularly schools, was introduced by the DAP. In the territorial and administrative division, the Federation of BiH is a 'Muslim-Croat Entity', which prompted formal organisational segregation of Croats and Muslims that followed the logic of the division of the state. Over the years, in most places local organisations had been integrated: however, in Stolac formal school segregation of Croatian and Muslim children was still in place in 2012. There are two local health centres as well, although they did not follow the pattern of formal ethnic segregation and both provided a service to all residents. The main reason for continuous segregation can be found in the 'exceptionalism' of Croat Herzegovina (Grandits 2007: 121), which is based on the HDZ's strategic interest in keeping this region politically and economically attached to the neighbouring Republic of Croatia. In contrast, Republic Srpska is not formally segregated along ethnic lines, and this is true for Kotor Varoš. However, I found that despite the absence of formal segregation, there was discrimination against local Muslim children in the school, which refused to introduce classes in the Bosnian language, even though they were legally obliged to do so.

By providing ethnographic accounts of the two towns, I showed that both of them have spaces where interactions between local residents were possible and took place on a daily basis. This is discussed in Chapters Five and Six. I argued that at the level of primary groups such as family and close friends, who had personal and long-lasting relationships before the war, interactions were easy and they took place irrespective of the social categorisation of their members. First, they were not affected by the ethno-nationalist categories of group members. I came across several interviewees who were in mixed marriages and who reported that their kin, who were in different ethnic groups, helped them to rebuild their houses or

supported them financially until they managed to earn a steady income. At the time of my fieldwork, family members were supporting each other: in particular, younger people were looking after and helping their elderly parents and in-laws. Second, while animosities, tensions and violent incidents existed between locals, new settlers and returnees who belonged to different ethnic categories, members of those same categories were getting married. In Stolac, a few of the female interviewees were married to the new settlers who arrived from central Bosnia. Some people, I found, were even strong enough to undo the direct experience of violence. In Kotor Varoš, one woman I interviewed married a man whose family was targeted and executed during the war because they were Muslim, during the Kotor massacre. I found fewer of these cases than examples of interactions outside ethno-nationalist categories, which led to my argument that an act of direct violence against a person is more powerful in terms of obstructing interactions and creating boundaries within the group than ethnic categorisation. The population of the two towns was targeted because of their ethnicity, but those who didn't have personal experience of the violence are more likely to interact with members of other ethnic groups than those who have. At the family level, Brubaker's (2004) proposition of 'ethnicity without groups' is valid. In many cases I found this to be true at the friendship level as well.

Neighbourhood, or *komšiluk*, is an important sociogeographic feature (Bringa 1995: 65) in the towns and it was reported as the main point of interactions and socialising in both places. I talked about the spatial aspect of neighbourhood in Chapter Four and about interactions in Chapter Six. My findings confirmed what other literature on BiH argued, namely that very strong ties exist between neighbours and because of this the neighbourhood can be understood as a primary social group, the same as a family. I found informal interactions to be critical for establishing first contact between people, which in these towns took the form of the sociocultural practice of drinking coffee. Among the new settlers in both places, people who were living next door would start interacting by saying hello to each other and continue by inviting each other for coffee. On the other hand, there were occasions when the local people would not like the new settlers who had bought

the house next door, and they would pass by, saying a polite “hello” but without ever having meaningful interactions. Among the old neighbours who were divided by violence, interactions would sometimes continue around religious holidays such as *Bajram*¹⁴¹ or Christmas, but people generally agreed that neighbourhood relations were not the same as before. If they existed, boundaries in the neighbourhoods were invisible or so nuanced that they were apparent only to the residents who were directly involved (Bernard 1973). One interviewee talked about how she still communicated with her pre-war neighbour, but they only talked in front of their houses (which are next to each other), and did not go inside. In this way, neighbourhood could be a positive factor in integration, which was the case mainly between old neighbours, but on the other hand it could create social distance, which had a negative outcome on community formation, particularly because of its importance in the daily life of BiH communities.

My view from the findings is that living in the same place provides opportunities for interactions, but they are not always meaningful. At the community level, this study found that in both towns it was more a case of coexistence between different social groups. However, this didn't exclude the member-interawareness, one of the elements of community. In the absence of local organisations providing spaces or facilitating interactions, it was difficult to talk about a community that is based on interactions. Spaces for interactions are groups that in some cases can have an overall positive impact on the community when interactions occur, but also a negative impact if they do not. I found more public and community organisations that featured interactions in Kotor Varoš than in Stolac, although the main ones such as religious groups or political organisations did not. Primary social groups, based on personal and emotional connections, were the main points of interactions in both communities. Groups or organisational levels that were open only to certain community members led to the lack of a sense of belonging, and this was the main obstacle to community formation.

¹⁴¹ Eid al-Fitr

Place

Chapter Five discussed the return of the displaced pre-war population and the settling of the new people, and how they built and rebuilt their houses and created personal spaces in very challenging conditions, driven by their wish to permanently settle in 'their own property'. It further discussed the role of place attachment and the implications of emotional connection to pre-war places. I found that space had particular significance for residents in both communities. The pre-war returning population used a metaphor of rooftops to define the start of post-war community formation, and I used it as the title of my thesis. One interviewee in Stolac said: *"When the rooftops became red again you knew the community was back."* Place comes into existence when a space is given meaning through personal, group or cultural processes (Altman and Low 1992). I found that spaces, and not only place, are important aspects of post-war life, which is in contrast to the literature on displacement and return, which suggests that houses without people do not constitute homes (Eastmond 2006). The significance of particular spaces is established in the form of place attachment, which can have a social element, but this is not always the case. For example, many residents of Stolac talked about their deep attachment to the river Bregava. Attachment to a house is an important aspect of post war community formation because people's lives before the war were embedded in the basic structures of house and household. Their main interactions were structured around the buildings and spaces as well. I paid equal attention to how the returning population rebuilt their old homes and to how the new settlers built their new homes.

7.3. Contribution to the Literature

The theoretical contribution of the thesis is threefold. First, it contributes to the community literature by investigating the links between community and violence, and community and post-war recovery. By this, it offers a conceptual framework that can be used in the peacebuilding policies and interventions. Second, it offers analytical and conceptual approach to studying social world based on the concept

of community, which has been side lined with a recent focus on the concepts of social capital and social cohesion. It reinforces the importance of geographic community, understanding of space, boundaries and social groups. It also contributes to deepening our understanding of the concept of everyday life in the context of political violence. Finally, the thesis contributes to the literature on Bosnian and Herzegovina by using innovative approach to understanding post-war reality.

7.4. Limitations of the Study and Future Research

There are a several gaps that I would like to address at the end of this study. First, the social psychology and post-war recovery bodies of literature are not integrated. Issues such as a sense of belonging, place attachment or sense of community are often used in studies on reconstruction and return in BiH, but they are lacking theoretical anchoring in social psychology literature. I have found enough evidence to demonstrate that sense of community plays an important role in rebuilding post-war social structure, but further examination should be undertaken using standardised questionnaires on the sense of community. This study - being ethnographic in approach - is an example of how theories of psychological community can be tested in more natural settings than controlled psychological studies (Howarth 2001).

Second, my study was limited in scope to the two towns. This was owing to limited time and funding and it would have been challenging to include more places in this much detail. The understanding of post-war community formation would benefit by focusing on other areas of BiH and places where the impact of violence was different or where it was lacking completely. It would then be possible to observe more factors affecting interactions between community members and to better understand the relationship between different elements of community and violence. On a different note, the topic would also benefit from a cross-country comparison with other regions that have endured civil wars. The most relevant

comparison would be between regions with protracted conflict, because it is likely that communities there would have very different dynamics that would entail living with violence, rather than being formed after violence.

My final point is that this study worked with a specific group of people, who had memories of the pre-war places and also had a sense of community. During the interviews I often encountered interviewees' children, who were born after the war. Sometimes they would comment on interactions between their generations and it seemed that they were more conscious about their ethnic identities, and were socialising within their own group. In Kotor Varoš one secondary school pupil, who is a Serb, observed that she doesn't have any Muslim friends. I was intrigued and asked her "How do you know they are Muslim?" This confused her quite a bit and she had to stop and think about it. I offered help by asking whether it was by their names or by the way they dressed and the girl picked on this second option, the way of dressing. At the same time, her mother felt an urge to deny this and reminded her daughter that she actually had one Muslim friend. On a separate topic, according to the World Bank, youth unemployment in BiH in 2012 - during my fieldwork - was 62%. Academic studies that focus on the post-war generation in BiH are just emerging, for example the work of Azra Hromadzic in Mostar, and investigating community formation from the perspective of younger generations would be the next logical step. The violence that was integrated into the social memories of the communities will inevitably have affected and will continue to affect these young people, even though they have had no direct experience of the conflict.

8. Bibliography

- Allouche, Jeremy and Lind, Jeremy (2013), 'A New Deal? Development and Security in a Changing World'.
- Altman, Irwin and Low, Setha M (1992), *Place Attachment*, eds Irwin Altman and SethaM Low (Place Attachment, 12: Springer US) 1-12.
- Amit, Vered (2000), *Constructing the field : ethnographic fieldwork in the contemporary world* (London: Routledge).
- Anderson, Benedict R. (1991), *Imagined communities : reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. and extended ed. edn.; London: Verso) xv,224p.
- Anderson, Mary B. (1999), *Do no harm: how aid can support peace - or war* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner).
- Andjelic, Neven 'Bosnia-Herzegovina : politics at the end of Yugoslavia. [electronic resource]'.
 --- (2003), *Bosnia-Herzegovina : the end of a legacy* (London ; Portland, Or.: Frank Cass).
- Appadurai, Arjun (1998), 'Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization', *Development and Change*, 29 (4), 905-925.
- Bailey, Carol A. (2007), *A guide to qualitative field research* (2nd ed. edn.; Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London: Pine Forge) xv, 214 p.
- Bamberg, Michael G. W. (1997), *Narrative development : six approaches* (Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates).
- (2007), *Narrative - state of the art* (Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.).
- Barron, Patrick (2010), 'CDD in Post-Conflict And Conflict-Affected Areas: Experiences From East Asia'.
- Basic, Sanela (2006), 'Bosnian Society on the Path to Justice, Truth and Reconciliation', in Martina Fischer (ed.), *Peace-building and civil society in Bosnia-Herzegovina : ten years after Dayton* (Berlin: Lit), 483 p.
- Bellamy, Alex J (2003), *The formation of Croatian national identity: A centuries-old dream?* (Manchester University Press).
- Bellows, John and Miguel, Edward (2009), 'War and local collective action in Sierra Leone', *Journal of Public Economics*, 93 (11-12), 1144-1157.

- Berdal, Mats R. and Suhrke, Astri (2011), *The peace in between : post-war violence and peacebuilding* (London: Routledge).
- Bernard, Jessie (1973), *The Sociology of Community* (Scott).
- Bevan, Robert (2006), *The destruction of memory : architecture at war* (London: Reaktion).
- Bieber, Florian (2006), *Post-War Bosnia: Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance* (Palgrave Macmillan).
- Blagojevic, Bojana (2009), 'Causes of Ethnic Conflict: A Conceptual Framework', *Journal of Global Change and Governance*, 3 (1).
- Blattman, Christopher (2009), 'From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda', *American Political Science Review*, 103 (02), 231-247.
- Blattman, Christopher and Miguel, Edward (2010), 'Civil War', *Journal of Economic Literature*, 48 (1), 3-57.
- Bose, Sumantra (2002), *Bosnia after Dayton* (London: Hurst) viii, 295 p., [5] p. of plates.
- (2007), *Contested lands : Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Harvard University Press) 329 p.
- Bougarel, Xavier., Helms, Elissa., and Duijzings, Gerlachus (2007), *The new Bosnian mosaic: identities, memories and moral claims in a post-war society* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate).
- Boyle, Michael J. (2014), *Violence after war: explaining instability in post-conflict states* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Bringa, Tone (1995), *Being Muslim the Bosnian way : identity and community in a central Bosnian village* (Princeton, N.J. ; Chichester: Princeton University Press) xxi, 281p.
- (2005), 'Reconciliation in Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Roads to reconciliation*, 187-199.
- Brown, Barbara B and Perkins, Douglas D (1992), 'Disruptions in place attachment', *Place attachment* (Springer), 279-304.
- Brown, Graham K., Langer, Arnim, and Stewart, Frances (2008), *A typology of post-conflict environments : an overview* (Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, University of Oxford) 22 p.

- Brown, Michael E (2001), *Nationalism and ethnic conflict* (Rev. ed edn.; Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press) 491.
- Brubaker, Rogers (2004), *Ethnicity without groups* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Harvard University Press).
- Brück, Tilman, Patricia Justino and Philip Verwimp (2010), ' "Identifying Conflict and Violence in Micro-Level Surveys" background paper to the 2011 World Development Report', *World Bank* (The World Bank).
- Bruck, Tilman, Schindler, Kati (2009), 'The Impact of Violent Conflicts on Households: What Do We Know and What Should We Know about War Widows?', *Oxford Development Studies*, 37 (3), 289 - 309.
- Bruhn, John (2009a), 'The Significance of the Social Group', *The Group Effect* (Springer US), 1-29.
- Bruhn, John G (2009b), *The group effect : social cohesion and health outcomes / John Bruhn* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer).
- Bruhn, John G (2011), *The sociology of community connections* (2nd ed. edn.; Dordrecht ; London: Springer).
- Caspersen, Nina 'Intra-ethnic competition and inter-ethnic conflict: Serb elites in Croatia and Bosnia, 1990-1995', [1 v. ; 31 cm.].
- Caspersen, Nina (2010), *Contested nationalism : Serb elite rivalry in Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- Certeau, Michel de (1984), *The practice of everyday life* (University of California Press).
- Chavis, David M and Wandersman, Abraham (1990), 'Sense of community in the urban environment: A catalyst for participation and community development', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18 (1), 55-81.
- Cohen, Anthony P. (1985), *The symbolic construction of community* (Chichester: Ellis Horwood).
- Colletta, Nat J. and Cullen, Michelle L. (2000), 'Violent conflict and the transformation of social capital : lessons from Cambodia,Rwanda,Guatemala and Somalia', (Washington, D.C.: World Bank).
- Cooley, Charles Horton (1956), *Two major works: Social organization: Human nature and the social order* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press).

- Cooper Marcus, Clare (1992), 'Environmental Memories', in Irwin Altman and Seth M Low (eds.), *Place Attachment* (Human Behavior and Environment, 12: Springer US), 87-112.
- Corbin, Juliet M., Strauss, Anselm L., and Strauss, Anselm L. Basics of qualitative research (2008), *Basics of qualitative research : techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed. edn.; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, Inc.).
- Coser, Lewis A. (1956), *The functions of social conflict* (London: Routledge).
- Costalli, Stefano and Moro, Francesco Niccolò (2012), 'Ethnicity and strategy in the Bosnian civil war: Explanations for the severity of violence in Bosnian municipalities', *Journal of Peace Research*, 49 (6), 801-815.
- Cox, Marcus (1998), 'The Right to Return Home: International Intervention and Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina', *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*, 47 (03), 599-631.
- 'The making of a Bosnian state : international law and the authority of the international community'.
- Cramer, Christopher (2006), *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing* (London: Hurst & Company) 330.
- Das, Veena (1990), *Mirrors of violence : communities, riots, and survivors in South Asia* (Delhi ; New York: Oxford University Press) x, 407 p.
- Denitch, Bogdan (1994), *Ethnic nationalism : the tragic death of Yugoslavia* (Minneapolis ; London: University of Minnesota Press) ix, 229p.
- Doolittle, Robert J. and Macdonald, Donald (1978), 'Communication and a sense of community in a metropolitan neighborhood: A factor analytic examination', *Communication Quarterly*, 26 (3), 2-7.
- Durham, M. E. (1928), *Some tribal origins, laws and customs of the Balkans* (Allen & Unwin).
- Durkheim, Emile (1972), *Suicide : A study in sociology* ([S.l.] : Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.).
- Eastmond, Marita (2006), 'Transnational Returns and Reconstruction in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina
- retornos transnacionales y reconstrucción en el periodo de posguerra en bosnia y herzegovina', *International Migration*, 44 (3), 141-166.

- (2007), 'Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20 (2), 248-264.
- (2010), 'Introduction: Reconciliation, reconstruction, and everyday life in war-torn societies', *Focaal*, 2010, 3-16.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (2001), *Small places, large issues: an introduction to social and cultural anthropology* (2nd edn., Anthropology, culture and society; London Pluto Press) 342.
- Erikson, Kai (1976), *Everything in its path : destruction of community in the Buffalo Creek flood* (New York: Simon and Schuster).
- Falzon, Mark-Anthony (2009), *Multi-sited ethnography : theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Fearon, James D., Humphreys, Macartan, and Weinstein, Jeremy M. (2009), 'Can Development Aid Contribute to Social Cohesion after Civil War? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Post-conflict Liberia', *American Economic Review*, 99 (2), 287-91.
- Fearon, James D. and Laitin, David D. (2003), 'Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War', *American Political Science Review*, 97 (01), 75-90.
- Feldman, Allen (1991), *Formations of violence : the narrative of the body and political terror in Northern Ireland* (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press).
- Fischer, Martina (2006), *Peace-building and civil society in Bosnia-Herzegovina : ten years after Dayton* (Berlin: Lit) 483 p.
- Forrest, Ray and Kearns, Ade (2001), 'Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood', *Urban Studies*, 38 (12), 2125-2143.
- Frankenberg, R. (1969), *Communities in Britain, social life in town and country* (Rev. ed. edn.; [S.l.]: Penguin).
- Frykman, Maja Povrzanovic (1997), 'Identities in war: Embodiments of violence and places of belonging', *Ethnologia Europaea*, 27 (2), 153-162.
- Fujii, Lee Ann (2010), 'Shades of truth and lies: Interpreting testimonies of war and violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, 47 (2), 231-241.
- Gagnon, V. P. (2004), *The myth of ethnic war : Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca, N.Y. ; London: Cornell University Press) xxi, 217 p.

- Galtung, Johan (1969), 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, 6 (3), 167-191.
- George, Alexander L. and Bennett, Andrew (2005), *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: MIT).
- Gerring, John (2007), *Case study research : principles and practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) x, 265 p.
- Gilligan, Michael J., Pasquale, Benjamin J., and Samii, Cyrus (2014), 'Civil War and Social Cohesion: Lab-in-the-Field Evidence from Nepal', *American Journal of Political Science*, 58 (3), 604-619.
- Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L. (1967), *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research* (New York, N.Y: Aldine de Gruyter).
- Glenny, Misha (1992), *The fall of Yugoslavia : the third Balkan war* (London: Penguin) 193p.
- Gluckman, Max (1955), *Custom and conflict in Africa* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Goodman, Robert M., et al. (1998), 'Identifying and Defining the Dimensions of Community Capacity to Provide a Basis for Measurement', *Health Education & Behavior*, 25 (3), 258-278.
- Grandits, Hannes (2007), *The Power of 'Armchair Politicians': Ethnic Loyalty and Political Factionalism among Herzegovinian Croats* (na).
- Green, Linda Buckley (1999), *Fear as a way of life : Mayan widows in rural Guatemala* (New York ; Chichester: Columbia University Press).
- Gurr, Ted Robert (1993), *Minorities at risk : a global view of ethnopolitical conflicts* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press).
- Gusfield, Joseph R. (1975), *Community : a critical response* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Gusterson, Hugh (2007), 'ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND WAR', *Anthropology Today*, 23 (4), 23-23.
- Halbwachs, Maurice and Coser, Lewis A. (1992), *On collective memory* (The Heritage of sociology; Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 244 p.
- Hayden, R.M (2008), 'Mass Killings and Genocide in Bosnia, 1941-5 and 1992-5', in Dan Stone (ed.), *The historiography of genocide* (Basingstoke England ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan), xv, 640 p.

- Hayden, Robert M. (1996), 'Imagined communities and real victims: self-determination and ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia', *American Ethnologist*, 23 (4), 783-801.
- Helms, Elissa (2010), 'The gender of coffee: Women and reconciliation initiatives in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Focaal*, 2010, 17-32.
- Hernández, Bernardo, et al. (2007), 'Place attachment and place identity in natives and non-natives', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 27 (4), 310-319.
- Herzegovina, Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia (2005), 'Comparatyve Analysis on Access to Rights of Refugees and Displaced Persons', in Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees (ed.), (Sarajevo Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees).
- Hidalgo, M. Carmen and Hernandez, Bernardo (2001), 'Place Attachment: Cconceptual and Empirical Questions', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21 (3), 273-281.
- Hillery, George A. (1959), 'A Critique of Selected Community Concepts', *Social Forces*, 37 (3), 237-242.
- (1982), *Research odyssey : developing and testing a community theory* (New Brunswick: Transactions Books).
- Hodson, Randy, Sekulic, Dusko, and Massey, Garth (1994), 'National Tolerance in the Former Yugoslavia', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 99 (6), 1534-1558.
- Howarth, Caroline Susannah (2001), 'Towards a Social Psychology of Community: A Social Representations Perspective', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 31 (2), 223-238.
- Hromadzic, Azra (2011), 'Bathroom mixing: Youth negotiate democratization in postconflict Bosnia and Herzegovina', *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 34 (2), 268-289.
- Hromadžić, Azra (2015), *Citizens of an Empty Nation: Youth and State-Making in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Hromadžić, Azra (2008), 'Discourses of integration and practices of reunification at the Mostar Gymnasium, Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Comparative Education Review*, 52 (4), 541-563.

- Jansen, Stef (2009), 'Troubled locations: Return, the Life Course, and Transformations of 'Home' in Bosnia-Herzegovina', in Stef Jansen and Staffan Lofving (eds.), *Struggles for home : violence, hope and the movement of people* (2009; New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books).
- (2010), 'Of wolves and men: Postwar reconciliation and the gender of international encounters', *Focaal*, 2010, 33-49.
- Jansen, Stef and Lofving, Staffan (2009), *Struggles for home : violence, hope and the movement of people* (New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books).
- Jenkins, Richard (1994), 'Rethinking ethnicity: Identity, categorization and power', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17 (2), 197-223.
- (2008), *Rethinking ethnicity* (2nd ed. edn.; London: SAGE).
- Josselson, Ruthellen and Lieblich, Amia (1999), *Making meaning of narratives* (Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London: Sage).
- Justino, Patricia (2007a), 'On the Links between Violent Conflict and Household Poverty: How Much Do We Really Know?'.
<http://www.microconflict.eu/publications/RWP1_PJ.pdf>.
- (2007b), 'Poverty Dynamics, Violent Conflict and Convergence in Rwanda'.
<http://www.microconflict.eu/publications/RWP3_PJ.pdf>.
- (2009), 'Poverty and Violent Conflict: A Micro-Level Perspective on the Causes and Duration of Warfare'.
<http://www.microconflict.eu/publications/RWP6_PJ.pdf>.
- Justino, Patricia, Brck, Tilman, and Verwimp, Philip (2013), 'A micro-level perspective on the dynamics of conflict, violence, and development', (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press).
- Justino, Patricia (ed.), (2010), *War and Poverty*, ed. Michelle Garfinkel & Skaperdas Stergios (Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Security Oxford University Press).
- Kaldor, Mary. (2012), *New and old wars* (Third edition. edn.; Cambridge: Polity).
- Kalyvas, Stathis N (2006), *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge studies in comparative politics=500 \\ Title from e-book title screen (viewed October 16, 2007); New York: Cambridge University Press) 485.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. and Sambanis, Nicholas (2005), 'Bosnia's civil war: Origins of Violence and Dynamics ', in Collier Paul and Sambanis Nicholas (eds.),

- Understanding civil war : evidence and analysis* (2; Washington, D.C.: World Bank ; [London : Eurospan, distributor]), 353.
- Kaplan, Robert D. (1994), *Balkan ghosts : a journey through history* (London: Papermac) xxvii, 307p., [16]p. of plates.
- Kaufman, Stuart J. (2006), 'Escaping the Symbolic Politics Trap: Reconciliation Initiatives and Conflict Resolution in Ethnic Wars', *Journal of Peace Research*, 43 (2), 201-218.
- Kearns, Ade and Forrest, Ray (2000), 'Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance', *Urban Studies*, 37 (5-6), 995-1017.
- Kolind, Torsten (2008), *Post-war identification : everyday Muslim counterdiscourse in Bosnia Herzegovina* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press ; Lancaster : Gazelle [distributor]) 315 p.
- Kuzman, Zdravko and Škegro, Ante (2002), *Stolac mjesto spora umjesto razgovora: radovi s Okruglog stola, Stolac 5. listopada 2001; dodatak Prilog dijalogi između kršćanstva i islama* (Općinsko Poglavarstvo).
- Lefebvre, Henri (1991), *The production of space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
- Lewicka, Maria (2013), 'In search of roots', *Place attachment: Advances in theory, methods and applications*, 49-60.
- Lijphart, Arend (1977), *Democracy in plural societies : a comparative exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Lockwood, William G. (1975), *European Moslems : economy and ethnicity in Western Bosnia* (New York ; London: Academic Press).
- Low, Setha M. (1992), 'Symbolic Ties That Bind', in Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low (eds.), *Place Attachment* (Human Behavior and Environment, 12: Springer US), 165-185.
- Lubkemann, Stephen C (2005), 'Migratory Coping in Wartime Mozambique: An Anthropology of Violence and Displacement in 'Fragmented Wars'', *Journal of Peace Research*, 42 (4), 493-508.
- (2008), *Culture in chaos: an anthropology of the social condition in war* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 401.
- Macek, Ivana (2005), 'Sarajevan Soldier Story: Perceptions of War & Morality in Bosnia ', in Paul Richards (ed.), *No peace, no war*.

- (2009), *Sarajevo under siege : anthropology in wartime* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press) xii, 256 p.
- Macfarlane, Alan (1977), 'History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities', *Social History*, 2 (5), 631-652.
- Mahmutcehajic, Rusmir (2011), *Maintaining the sacred center : the Bosnian city of Stolac* (Bloomington, Ind.: World Wisdom).
- Mahmutćehajić, Rusmir (2011), 'On Ruins and the Place of Memory: A Bosnian Post-Script to Communism', *East European Politics & Societies*, 25 (1), 153-192.
- Malcolm, Noel. (2002), *Bosnia: a short history* (London: Pan).
- Malkki, Liisa H. (1995), *Purity and exile : violence, memory, and national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press) xiv,352p.
- Mansuri, Ghazala and Rao, Vijayendra (2004), 'Community-Based and -Driven Development: A Critical Review', *The World Bank Research Observer*, 19 (1), 1-39.
- Manzo, Lynne and Devine-Wright, Patrick (2014), *Place attachment : advances in theory, methods, and applications* (Routledge).
- Manzo, Lynne C. and Perkins, Douglas D. (2006), 'Finding Common Ground: The Importance of Place Attachment to Community Participation and Planning', *Journal of Planning Literature*, 20 (4), 335-350.
- McMillan, David W. (1996), 'Sense of community', *Journal of Community Psychology*, 24 (4), 315-325.
- McMillan, David W. and Chavis, David M. (1986), 'Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory', *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14.
- Meernik, James (2005), 'Justice and Peace? How the International Criminal Tribunal Affects Societal Peace in Bosnia', *Journal of Peace Research*, 42 (3), 271-289.
- Moody, James and White, Douglas R. (2003), 'Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Concept of Social Groups', *American Sociological Review*, 68 (1), 103-127.
- Moser, Caroline O. N. (1998), 'The asset vulnerability framework: Reassessing urban poverty reduction strategies', *World Development*, 26 (1), 1-19.

- Nettelfield, Lara J (2010), *Courting democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Cambridge University Press).
- Nordstrom, Carolyn (1997a), *A different kind of war story* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press) xviii, 254p.
- (1997b), *Girls and warzones : troubling questions* (Uppsala, Sweden: Life & Peace Institute) v, 50 p.
- Nordstrom, Carolyn and Robben, Antonius C. G. M. (1995), *Fieldwork under fire : contemporary studies of violence and survival* (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press) vii, 300 p.
- North, Douglass C., Wallis, John Joseph, and Weingast, Barry R. (2009), *Violence and social orders : a conceptual framework for interpreting recorded human history* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Ostrom, Elinor (2000), 'Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14 (3), 137-158.
- Otterbein, Keith F. (1968), 'Internal War: A Cross-Cultural Study', *American Anthropologist*, 70 (2), 277-289.
- Paris, Roland (2004), *At war's end building peace after civil conflict* (New York: Cambridge University Press) 289.
- Patton, Michael Quinn (2002), *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed. edn.; London: SAGE).
- Pauker, Iva (2012), 'War Through Other Means: Examining the Role of Symbols in Bosnia and Herzegovina', in Olivera Simić, Zala Volčič, and Catherine R. Philpot (eds.), *Peace Psychology in the Balkans* (Peace Psychology Book Series: Springer US), 109-128.
- Petersen, Roger (2001), *Resistance and rebellion : lessons from Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) xv, 321 p.
- (2002), *Understanding ethnic violence : fear, hatred, and resentment in twentieth-century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Pickering, Paula M (2006), 'Generating social capital for bridging ethnic divisions in the Balkans: Case studies of two Bosniak cities', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29 (1), 79-103.

- Pickering, Paula M. (2007), *Peacebuilding in the Balkans : the view from the ground floor* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press ; Bristol : University Presses Marketing [distributor]) viii, 242 p.
- Popovic, Dragan (2010), 'Youth Labour Action (Omladinska Radna Akcija, ORA) as Ideological Holiday Making ', in Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (eds.), *Yugoslavia's sunny side: a history of tourism in socialism (1950s-1980s)* (Central European University Press).
- Portelli, Alessandro (1991), *The death of Luigi Trastulli, and other stories : form and meaning in oral history* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press).
- Premilovac, Aida (2005), 'The Discourse of Local Identity in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Language in Use*, 202.
- Pugh, Michael (2002), 'Postwar Political Economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Spoils of Peace', *Global Governance*, 8 (4), 467-482.
- Reychler, Luc and Langer, Arnim (2006), 'Researching Peace Building Architecture', *INTERNATIONALE BETREKKINGENCAHIERS EN VREDESONDERZOEK* (75; Leuven Centre for Peace Research and Strategic Studies).
- Richards, Paul (1996), *Fighting for the Rainforest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone* (London: James Currey Publishers).
- Richards, Paul, Bah, Khadija, and Vincent, James (2004), 'Social Capital and Survival: Prospects for Community-Driven Development in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone', *COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT CONFLICT PREVENTION & RECONSTRUCTION* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank), 78.
- Richards, Paul May (2005), *No peace, no war : an anthropology of contemporary armed conflicts* (Athens: Ohio University Press ; Oxford : J. Currey).
- Riedlmayer, András J. (2007), 'Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace: Destruction of Libraries during and after the Balkan Wars of the 1990s', *Library Trends*, 56 (1).
- Rubinstein, RobertI and Parmelee, PatriciaA (1992), 'Attachment to Place and the Representation of the Life Course by the Elderly', in Irwin Altman and SethaM Low (eds.), *Place Attachment* (Human Behavior and Environment, 12: Springer US), 139-163.

- Sambanis, Nicholas (2001), 'Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1)', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45 (3), 259-282.
- Sanguilinda, Inmaculada Serrano (2010), 'Return after violence. Emotions and rationality in the aftermath of violent conflict', (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid).
- Sarason, Seymour Bernard (1974), *The psychological sense of community; prospects for a community psychology* (1st edn., The Jossey-Bass behavioral science series; San Francisco,: Jossey-Bass) xii, 290 p.
- Scannell, Leila and Gifford, Robert (2010), 'Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30 (1), 1-10.
- Scarry, Elaine (1985), *The body in pain : the making and unmaking of the world* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy (1992), *Death without weeping : the violence of everyday life in Brazil* (Berkeley ; Oxford: University of California Press).
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy and Bourgois, Philippe I. (2004), *Violence in war and peace : edited by Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Schmidt, Bettina and Schroder, Ingo (2001), *Anthropology of violence and conflict*.
- Selimovic, Johanna Mannergren (2010), 'Perpetrators and victims: Local responses to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia', *Focaal*, 2010, 50-61.
- Silber, Laura and Little, Allan (1995), *The death of Yugoslavia* (London: Penguin).
- (1996), *Yugoslavia : death of a nation* (USA: TV Books).
- Simmel, Georg (1950), *Conflict. The web of group-affiliations*. (Glencoe).
- Smith, Anthony D. (1996), 'Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, 72 (3), 445-458.
- Sorabji, Cornelia (2006), 'Managing memories in post-war Sarajevo: individuals, bad memories, and new wars', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 12 (1), 1-18.
- Sorabji, Cornelia (2008), 'Bosnian Neighborhoods Revisited: Tolerance, Commitment and Komsiluk in Sarajevo ', in Frances Pine and João de Pina-Cabral (eds.), *On the Margins of Religion* (New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books).

- Spencer, Jonathan (1990), *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*
 --- (2000), *The Sinhala village in a time of trouble*.
- Stacey, Margaret (1969), 'The Myth of Community Studies', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 20 (2), 134-147.
- Stefansson, Anders (2007), 'Urban Exile: Locals, Newcomers and the Cultural Transformation of Sarajevo ', in Xavier Bougarel, Elissa Helms, and Gerlachlus Duijzings (eds.), *The new Bosnian mosaic : identities, memories and moral claims in a post-war society* (Aldershot: Ashgate), xv, 332 p.
- Stefansson, Anders H. (2010), 'Coffee after cleansing? Co-existence, co-operation, and communication in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Focaal*, 2010, 62-76.
- Strauss, Anselm L. and Corbin, Juliet M. (2015), *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (Fourth edition]. edn.; Los Angeles: SAGE).
- Sudetic, Chuck (1998), *Blood and vengeance : one family's story of the war in Bosnia* (New York ; London: W.W. Norton) xxxvii, 393 p.
- Swee, Eik Leong (2015), 'Together or separate? Post-conflict partition, ethnic homogenization, and the provision of public schooling', *Journal of Public Economics*, 128, 1-15.
- Tabeau, Ewa and Bijak, Jakub (2005), 'War-related Deaths in the 1992–1995 Armed Conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Critique of Previous Estimates and Recent Results', *European Journal of Population/Revue européenne de Démographie*, 21 (2), 187-215.
- Talen, Emily (1999), 'Sense of community and neighbourhood form: An assessment of the social doctrine of new urbanism', *Urban Studies*, 36 (8), 1361-1379.
- Themnér, Lotta and Wallensteen, Peter (2013), 'Armed Conflicts, 1946–2012', *Journal of Peace Research*, 50 (4), 509-521.
- Thompson, Flora (1999), *Lark Rise* (London: Penguin).
- Till, Karen E. (2012), 'Wounded cities: Memory-work and a place-based ethics of care', *Political Geography*, 31 (1), 3-14.
- Tilly, Charles (2003), *The politics of collective violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Tonnies, Ferdinand (2001), *Community and civil society* (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Turner, Jonathan H. (1988), *A theory of social interaction* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Turner, Victor Witter. and Bruner, Edward M. (1986), *The anthropology of experience* (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press).
- United Nations Development, Programme (2009), 'The Ties that Bind: Social Capital in Bosnia and Herzegovina ', (New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Bosnia and Herzegovina).
- Velikonja, Mitja (2003), 'In Hoc Signo Vincas: Religious Symbolism in the Balkan Wars 1991–1995', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 17 (1), 25-40.
- Verwimp, Philip , Justino, Patricia , and Brück, Tilman (2009), 'The Analysis of Conflict: A Micro-Level Perspective ', *Journal of Peace Research*, 46 (3) 307-314.
- Walasek, Helen (2015), *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.).
- Watanabe, John M. (1992), *Maya saints and souls in a changing world* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
- Weidmann, Nils B. and Zürcher, Christoph (2013), 'How Wartime Violence Affects Social Cohesion: The Spatial–Temporal Gravity Model', *Civil Wars*, 15 (1), 1-18.
- Weidmann, Nils B. (2009), 'Violence and the Changing Ethnic Map: The Endogeneity of Territory and Conflict in Bosnia', *HiCN Working Paper 64* (Households in Conflict Network.).
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean (2003), *Insurgent collective action and civil war in El Salvador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) xvii, 308 p.
- (2008), 'The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11 (1), 539-561.
- Woodward, Susan L. (1995), *Balkan tragedy : chaos and dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution) xii, 536 p.
- Woodward, Susan L. (2011), 'From Redistribution to Social Exclusion: the wartime and post-war creation of horizontal inequalities in Bosnia-Herzegovina', in Arnim Langer, Stewart, Frances, Venugopal, Rajesh (ed.), *Horizontal*

Inequalities and Post-Conflict Development (Conflict, Inequality and Ethnicity) (Palgrave Macmillan), 336.

Woolcock, Michael (1998), 'Social Capital and Economic Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework', *Theory and Society*, 27 (2), 151-208.

World Bank (2011), 'Conflict, Security and Development', *World Development Report 2011* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank), 352.

World Bank, ECSSD (2002), 'Bosnia and Herzegovina: Local Level Institutions and Social Capital Study', (1; Washington, D.C.: World Bank), 174.

Yin, Robert K. (2003), *Case study research : design and methods* (3rd ed. edn.; Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London: SAGE).

Zupanov, Josip, Sekulic, Dusko, and Sporer, Zeljka (1995), 'A breakdown of the civil order: The Balkan bloodbath', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 9 (3), 401-422.

9. Annexes

Annex 1: Pre-war (Census 1991) and Post-war (Census 2013) Population

This document presents detailed population data for the pre-war and post-war municipalities of Stolac and Kotor Varos. Most municipalities, urban and rural, in BiH exhibit some level of population changes from a drop of over 60% in Glamoc and Bosansko Grahovo in west Bosnia to an increase in post-war population of 91% in East Ilidza and 126% in East New Sarajevo (suburbs of pre-war Sarajevo)¹⁴².

According to available census data, between 1941 and 1991 6,453 persons migrated and settled in the town of Stolac. Half of this number migrated from the settlements and villages in the municipality, probably as labour migration. At the same time, a significant number of people moved elsewhere to study, typically to Sarajevo or Novi Sad. At present, Novi Sad is the town with the largest expatriate community of Stolac inhabitants. At the same time, 611 people in 1991 were temporarily employed abroad.

Stolac

Table 6 below shows population data from the 1991 Census (SFRY). At the time the municipality was divided into 10 *mjesne zajednice* (administrative districts). The row highlighted in orange represents data for the territory of the post-war municipality (51%), which, at the time, had 15,171 persons. At the same time, 3,510 people lived in 49% of the territory, now allocated to the new municipality of Berkovici. It shows that the negotiated Dayton Peace Agreement did not take population numbers into account when arranging territorial division.

¹⁴² <http://www.statistika.ba/?show=7&id=62> accessed dd/mm/yy

Table 7 shows the population of Stolac municipality according to National Census data from 2013. We can see that the population number appears unchanged with around 15,000 inhabitants, which could lead to the conclusion that Stolac did not go through significant population changes. However, through qualitative data this thesis shows that this was not the case. The picture is slightly different if we observe the entire municipal territory, for which there is a population decline of around 20%. Table 2 also shows the population of each settlement in the post-war municipality and the population changes for each. The post-war municipality of Stolac has not been divided into *mjesne zajednice* and it is not possible to make a comparison for this territorial unit. The data, however shows, that population number of the pre-war *mjesna zajednica* of Stolac (the town and nearby village of Osanjici) declined by nearly 30% from 6,889 to 5,065.

Table 8 shows changes in ethnic composition. According to 2013 census estimated¹⁴³ figures, around 4,000 who declared as Croats became residents in the municipality, while around 2,500 Muslims and 1,700 Serbs did not return. Nuances of ethnic and national identities are further discussed in empirical chapter 3, particularly people's preferences between Muslim and *Bosnjak* identities and group belonging. These figures support findings from the qualitative data, showing that a significant number of the pre-war population did not return, and in addition there was an influx of people from outside the municipality. However, there are no estimates for the town, which makes it more difficult to verify to what extent its ethnic structure changed and how many new immigrants settled there. Knowing that there a new neighbourhood was built in Stolac after the war, housing between 2-3,000 people, it is possible to conclude that the pre-war population accounts for no more than 50%.

¹⁴³ <http://www.statistika.ba/?show=7&id=62> accessed dd/mm/yy

Table 6: Stolac population by nationality/ by *mjesna zajednica* (1991 Census)

	TOTAL	MUSLIM	SERB	CROAT	YUGOSLAV	OTHER
Berkovići	1,521	16	1483	1	19	2
Brštanik	509	56	33	414	0	6
Burmazi	994	245	70	671	8	0
Crnići	4,557	1,840	135	2,537	9	36
Dabrica	478	269	127	77	3	2
Hodovo	2,272	760	172	1329	6	5
Hrgud	372	1	371	0	0	0
Poplat	457	173	162	112	7	3
Stolac	6,899	4,354	1291	892	249	113
Žegulja	622	387	73	155	6	1
TOTAL	18,681	8,101	3917	6,188	307	168
Post-war Territory (51%)	15,171					

Table 7: Stolac population by settlement - 2013 Census data

STOLAC	STOLAC		3,957
	Barane		85
	Komanje Brdo		<10
	Do		<10
	Ošanjici		1,023
Sub-total		6,889	5,065
% pre-war/post-war population (51% of territory)			98.14%
% pre-war/post-war population (total population)			81.21%

Table 8: Stolac - Ethnic Composition 1991-2013

	TOTAL POPULATION	MUSLIM	SERB	CROAT	YUGOSLAV	OTHER
1991	18,681	8,101	3,917	6,188	307	168
1991 (51%)	15,171	7,386	1,806	5,542		437
2013¹⁴⁴ Stolac	14,889	4,900	100	9,400	N/A	100
2013 Berkovici	2,272	60	2,200	10	N/A	2
% pre-war/ post-war population	79.7%	60.5%	2.55%	152%	0%	59.5%
% pre-war/ post-war population (51%)	98.14%	66.3%	5.53%	169.6%	0%	22.9%

Kotor Varoš Population

Table 9 below shows population data from 1991 Census (SFRY). At the time the municipality was divided into 10 *mjesne zajednice*. The post-war municipality is still divided into the same units and it is possible to carry out a comparison between the pre-war and post war administrative units.

Table 10 The population of Kotor Varoš municipality, according to the last census from 2013¹⁴⁵, has declined by 40%, and that of the actual town by 23.2%, from the pre-war 10,885 to the current 8,360. The table below shows the population size change. As in the case of Stolac, Table 2 also shows the population of each settlement in the post-war municipality and demonstrates population changes for each.

¹⁴⁴ Estimate based on 2013 Census data, not officially confirmed

¹⁴⁵ http://www.bhas.ba/obavjestenja/Preliminarni_rezultati_bos.pdf accessed dd/mm/yy

Table 11 shows changes in ethnic composition, based on the 2013 National Census data. According to these figures and the 2013 census estimate¹⁴⁶, we can see that the Serbian population increased by 30% or 4,000 people in comparison to the pre-war numbers for the entire municipality. The Croat population constitutes only 2.8% or 300 people (280-330 permanent residents in the municipality is the figure obtained from the qualitative interviews), while the Muslim population is around 3,200. These numbers correspond to figures obtained through my qualitative interviews. As in the case of Stolac, qualitative evidence indicated the development of a new colony for the immigrants and trends of rural to urban movement of population. It is therefore possible to assume that at least 50% of the town's population is new.

Table 9: Kotor Varoš population by nationality/ by *mjesna zajednica* (1991 Census)

	TOTAL	MUSLIM	SERB	CROAT	YUGOSLAV	OTHER
Grabovica	1,482	0	1,455	1	3	23
Kotor Varoš	10,885	2,256	2,735	5,205	555	134
Kruševo Brdo	1188	252	928	1	2	5
Liplje	744	0	732	0	8	4
Maslovare	4,506	1,026	3,389	15	39	37
Obodnik	2,454	294	1,039	1,111	3	7
Šiprage	3,899	3,157	662	2	62	16
Vagani	1,788	607	1,169	3	0	9
Vrbanjci	5,531	3,220	1,393	1,842	61	14
Zabrdje	3377	278	554	2515	12	18
TOTAL	35,854	11,090	14,056	9,696	745	267

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.statistika.ba/?show=7&id=62> accessed dd/mm/yy

Table 10: Kotor Varoš population by *settlement* (2013 Census data)

MJESNA ZAJEDNICA	SETTLEMENT	1991	2013
	Kotor Varoš		8,360

Table 11: Kotor Varoš - Ethnic Composition 1991-2013

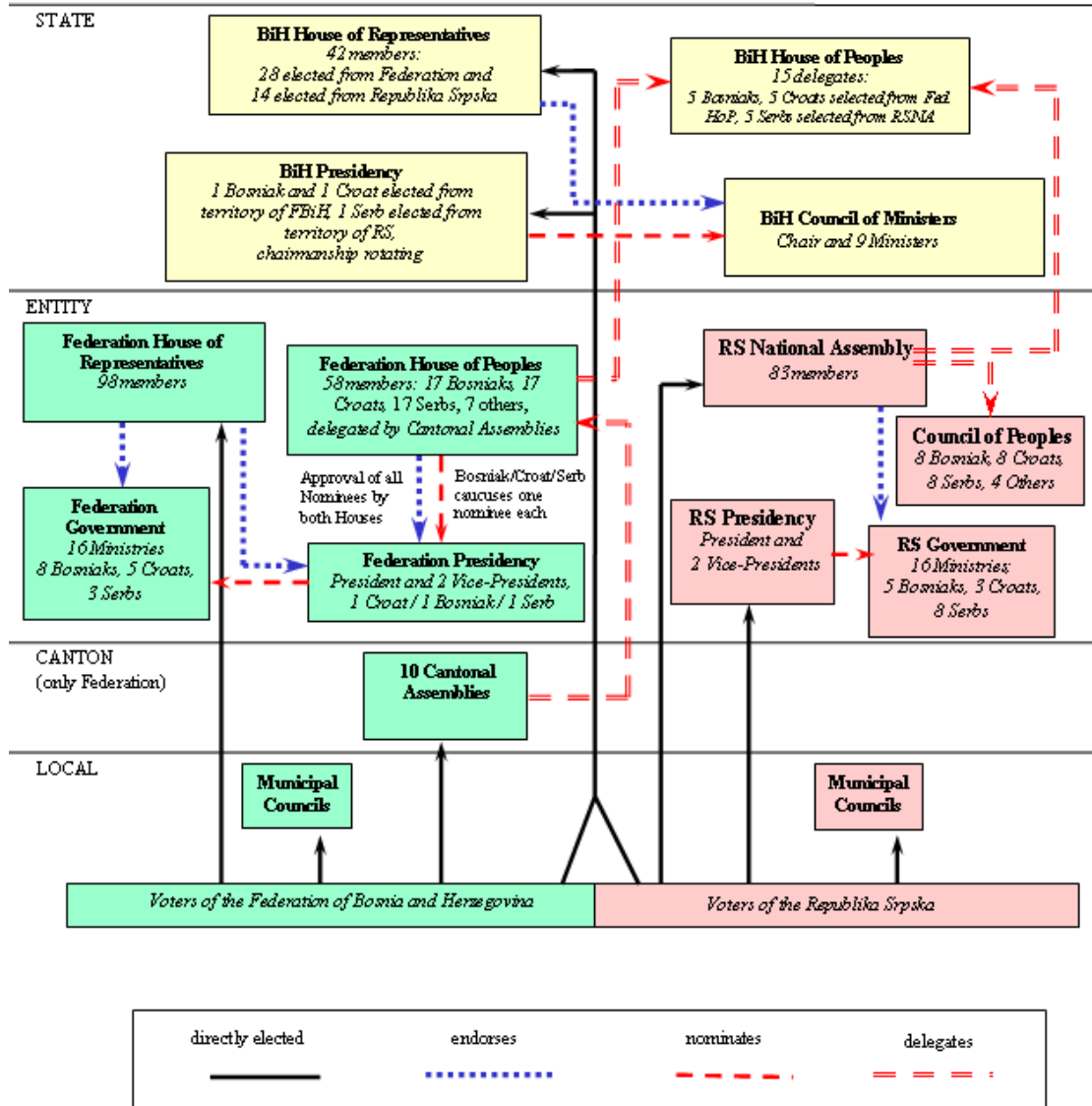
	TOTAL POPULATION	MUSLIM	SERB	CROAT	YUGOSLAV	OTHER
1991	36,853	11,090	14,056	10,695	745	437
2013¹⁴⁷	22,001	3,200	18,300	300 ¹⁴⁸	N/A	200
% of pre-war population	59.7	28.9	130.2	2.8		45.7

¹⁴⁷ Estimate based on 2013 Census

¹⁴⁸ Interviews with representatives of the local Catholic Church confirmed this figure.

Annex 2: BiH Administrative and Governance Setup (2012)

BiH's Legislative and Executive Bodies



Annex 3: Chronology of Local Violence

Stolac

The following section details how the war developed in three distinct time phases between 1991 and 1993, during which Stolac was first occupied by the JNA and then the HVO/HOS. According to local people¹⁴⁹, the first armed forces were deployed in the municipal territory, outside the town, in 1991. After stationing, they engaged in occasional fighting with the HVO/HOS forces in rural and remote areas of the municipality, but none of this took place in the town.

In August 1991 Montenegrins come, looking like a mob, literally a mob. They were reserve forces of JNA, on 31st August 1991. They arrived with a goal (most probably) to cross to Croatia over western Herzegovina. But, in western Herzegovina the tanks were stopped, (people) throwing themselves under them, this and that. Here it was still peace but the war on Dubrovnik battlefield already started. War in Croatia is already happening big time, and those Montenegrins go back and Uzice (JNA) troops arrive in November 1991. The war around Dubrovnik is coming to an end, the army from Uzice remains in the airport at Mostar and positions around Mostar, until the start of the war (in BiH). And it was all taken over by local Serbs. Serbs from Serbia practically didn't fight here. Except for the active soldiers (conscripts) and officers who found themselves here. (ST200612)

A few days after the official start of the war in the Former Yugoslav Republic of BiH, on 6th April 1992 more serious fighting commenced in the territory of Stolac municipality. At the same time, the Croatian Defence Council (HVO), the military force of the self-proclaimed *Herceg-Bosna* Republic¹⁵⁰, was formed in April 1992 and started military operations in Herzegovina, as the menace of war covered this part of the former Yugoslavia. The town was occupied on 10th April 1992 by the JNA forces, which had already been stationed in the municipality since the previous year. They marched into town in JNA uniforms and were a combination of

¹⁴⁹ This information is based on numerous discussions I had during my time in Stolac and on formal interviews.

¹⁵⁰ Herceg-Bosnia formation

regular army and reservists¹⁵¹ from Montenegro (whom the local population were able to identify by their dialect). This stage of the town's occupation happened without fighting or violence against the local population, or material damage. Nevertheless, it prompted many local people to flee their homes in fear of their safety. While some accounts suggest it was primarily the Croat population who fled the town, many others left as well, irrespective of their ethnic group.

The war in Stolac started with occupation by Yugoslav Peoples' Army forces. They were not the regular army but mainly reservists from Montenegro. They were a combination of the army (wearing JNA uniforms) and paramilitary also wearing the same uniforms, which obviously came from the same supplier because there was no other. A small number of Serbs from the town joined this army ("obukli se" – put on the (military) clothes). This "Serbian" army did not commit atrocities against the Croat or Muslim population, although a number of Croats left the town in fear of their personal safety and security. Their main task was organised looting of local factories. The looted goods were transported in an organised way to Berkovići, which was the main headquarters (Centre for Territorial Defence) for SAO Eastern Herzegovina. The army burned some of the Croat houses in the municipality but in rural villages, not in the town. (ST310112)

As the interviewee mentioned, immediately upon the occupation of the town the JNA forces started recruiting local Serbian men, but this activity was portrayed in two different ways. Some interviewees, including the one quoted, talked about how the local population 'joined' the army as a voluntary act, which was undertaken without any genuine desire to participate in the war. In fact, joining the military was compulsory and impossible to avoid. Some men may have been more inclined to join, but the data did not confirm this. *'They were taking mainly younger Serbs so nobody mobilised me. And how they left me alone in that round of mobilisation - nobody attempted to mobilise me again.'* (ST070512) In Stolac, people used a specific expression for joining the army: *"obukli su se"* (getting dressed into uniforms). In a different account: *'[... after taking the town...] HVO and HOS, they tried to "dress me" by force. [...I stayed in their army...] for 15 days and got out from Stolac and went to Mostar.* Mobilisation was one important experience of the war.

¹⁵¹ In the former Yugoslavia military service was compulsory. Men were conscripted at the age of 18. The JNA had reserve forces, numbering 3.2 million. Military age was 16-65. All men who served in the army were part of the reserve forces.

All of my male interviewees of age (between 16-65) joined the army, an act that determined their later destiny.

Local JNA forces stayed in the town very briefly, for less than two months, at which point they were pushed out by HOS and HVO¹⁵² forces as part of a wider regional offensive in the Neretva valley. The JNA, as a Yugoslav National Army, was formally dissolved on 20 May 1992 and their withdrawal was most likely related to this decision, because it prompted their official withdrawal from BiH. It is not completely clear how this shift of armies transpired, but witnesses' accounts claim that the JNA left carrying looted machinery from the local factories, taking vehicles and anything that could be useful to the army, while HVO/ HOS forces simply walked into the town without facing any resistance. The local Serbian population withdrew with the army, including local men who had been recruited during the brief occupation. Even though there was no fighting or destruction, the civilian population left out of concern for their safety. For example, in the nearby village of Poplat, around 160 Serbs in the village decided to withdraw with the JNA forces owing to safety concerns.

'Massive killing of the Serbian population happened during WWII in Poplat. Almost my entire family, except for one small male child were killed and thrown into a pit. Around 80 people were killed then. With the memory of these events we were growing increasingly worried about what was going to happen to us. When the Serbian army (JNA) was pushed out we went to talk to the local Muslim commander who was in charge in our village, a delegation of local people. We asked him to tell us openly whether they would be able to protect us and if we were safe stay, or should we withdraw with the army. He was very honest and said he couldn't guarantee our safety and that we had better leave. He said that perhaps at that point when his army was formed of local people and he knew everyone it would be possible, but if new soldiers arrived he couldn't vouch for them. So we went back and told the news to the villagers and we all packed our things and prepared to leave.' (ST050512)

The first stop for the population in flight was the village of Berkovići. Administratively, it was located in the Stolac municipality, but a de facto front line

¹⁵² HOS, the Croatian Defence Forces (1991/1992) were a military (armed) arm of Croatian Party of Rights (Dobroslav Paraga), which grew in size to several battalions and fought in Croatia and BiH during 1991 and 1992. Originally, HSP was the ultra-right Croatian party, formed in 1861.

between Serbian-held territory and the Croat/ Muslim alliance had already been established; the village was located on the other side of the established border and thus was under Serbian control. After the war ended in 1995, this is where the IEBL was drawn, dividing the pre-war municipality of Stolac. From there, Serbian refugees moved further into the territory of Eastern Herzegovina, from where they later dispersed to the neighbouring countries. The JNA withdrew to the surrounding hills and began intense shelling of the town, which was the first wave of the material destruction that doomed its cultural heritage, buildings and houses.

Following the capture of the municipal territory, HVO and HOS forces went on a looting rampage and destroying the houses of local Serbs who had left the town and municipality, but there was no immediate hostility against the Muslim population or their properties, or material objects in the town. After almost a year of non-violent coexistence, the final breakdown and the last stage of war in Stolac started unravelling in the spring of 1993. It coincided with the breakout of hostilities and fighting between Muslims and Croats in nearby territories, including the town of Mostar, in the spring of that year, although sporadic rifts had already been occurring since autumn 1992 in some parts of Bosnia. The fighting was gaining momentum, despite the signing of an internationally brokered peace agreement in Medjugorje on 18 May 1993. In Stolac, the hostilities began with the arrest of Muslim intellectuals, influential local people, and Muslim military leaders by HVO army forces and police. During the month of June 1993 all Muslim men aged 16-65 were captured and taken to the prison camps Dretelj, Gabela and Heliodrom. On 3rd and 4th August 1993 women and children, as well as any men who had not been arrested in the previous phase, were forcefully expelled from the town and taken to the town of Blagaj, on the border with the territory under Bosnian army control. Many of those who had left Stolac before this date, staying with relatives or in their country houses in the villages of the municipal territory, were also forced to join this exodus.

(Irma mama): Then, from there (Domanovici), we went to Blagaj because people were most concentrated there, if I can say Muslims, Bosnjaci. It was, simply, to get somewhere. My mother in law was the first of those who died on the road and in Blagaj. I was carrying her in a cart – Bogu dušu [...da

ispustim...]¹⁵³. *My girls were little, my husband in the prison camp for almost 6 months.*

After the population was forced into exile, Stolac remained under the control of the HVO forces and under Herceg-Bosna governance. Little is known about life in the community after August 1993 until the end of the war, but there are two main themes that mark this period. One is the continuous destruction and looting of the properties of the evicted Muslim population, which continued until the end of the war. At the same time the town was under constant shelling by Serbian forces.

'According to some estimates, in one day 12-13,000 shells fell here. I was here that day. It wasn't easy living through that. This institution had one building where it used to operate. Here, you see through the window those kiosks? - That's where the building used to be. Now that building doesn't exist. It was destroyed to the ground by battle tank grenades.' (ST110412)

HVO forces carried out massive destruction of the local material culture, including historical and religious buildings. In 1994 a large number of refugees from central Bosnian towns and villages was brought into the town and settled into empty houses if they were in habitable condition. Most were half-ruined, dirty and looted. Some of the IDPs arrived from Vares, Kakanj and Visoko in an organised way, while the others came because they had relatives or family living locally.

'Let me tell you. When we were in that first year, I arrived here in May 1994 and started working in a primary school in October and during '94/'95. But the town was shelled by the Serbs. Some of my acquaintances were even wounded during the shelling. Because there were still these war clashes, as it happened, Serbs were holding the area up there. I don't know, if you look at Zegulja, you see it like a pyramid and from Zegulja Stolac is visible as in a pit and they were shelling from above. It was not selective at all; there were no military targets, just civilian. We experienced this shelling in '95. But those mortars were... the shelling happened. In '95, I remember, I don't know, I was at work and that day in the afternoon the shelling happened, so the next day after arriving for work in my office, there was shrapnel, the window was broken, but luckily we were not at work. But this shelling was actually just to maintain fear among people. They were not really selective, I don't know, in the morning hours. And so. But they were probably thinking fewer people were in the streets.' (ST030512)

¹⁵³ I almost died

Kotor Varoš

After the November 1990 elections, communities and administrative units in Bosnia and Herzegovina started to organise themselves via the concept of "Association of Municipalities". In September and October 1991 these associations were united, together with the Association of Bosanska Krajina Municipalities, into the Serbian Autonomous Region of Bosanska Krajina (SAO Bosanska Krajina). Kotor Varoš was one of the municipalities that formed this autonomous region, which had parallel governance systems. There were three more territorial, self-proclaimed and self-governing units: SAO Semberija, SAO Northern Bosnia and SAO Romanija and Eastern Herzegovina. These autonomous regions later became part of the territory of Republic Srpska in 1991 forming a border area along which the war was fought. The creation of the Bosnian Serb state and the securing of its borders ultimately involved the permanent removal, or "ethnic cleansing", of nearly all of the Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat population¹⁵⁴.

Officially the war in Kotor Varoš started on 11 June 1992 and people had this date fixed in their memories. The first obvious indication of the forthcoming war events happened in May 1992, when inhabitants of the Serbian villages of Tepici and Savici started digging trenches around the village, shortly before Eid al Fitr, telling their concerned Muslim neighbours this was merely a military drill.¹⁵⁵ On the 11 June 1992, the First and the Second Krajina Corps, together with Serbian paramilitary groups, took the town. The majority wore military symbols of the Army of the Republic of Srpska, which, at the time, was separating from the JNA. At the same time, the local police station was taken over by Serbian police from Banja Luka. The fighting in the town and in the municipality lasted until November 1992. In June 1992 the town was marred by occupation and violence against the local population. Unlike in Stolac, where there had been a longstanding army presence since 1991, Kotor Varoš, according to the people I interviewed, had less warning of the forthcoming war, even though politically it should have been much clearer to

¹⁵⁴ The International Criminal Tribunal For The Former Yugoslavia: Case no. IT-99-36-PT

¹⁵⁵ Sourced from interviews and local discussions

those living there. The geographical setup of the town and surrounding villages is different to Stolac, in that they are connected and built more closely together, hence the violence cannot be isolated to just the central areas in the town. For example, there is almost no empty space between Kotor Varoš, Kotoriste, Vecici, Vrbanjci, Zabrdje, Podbrdje and other settlements, which are all only few kilometres away. Once the fighting had started, people were moving between the town and these villages on foot, spending substantial amounts of time hiding in the nearby woods. The details of the months when the violence and fighting were taking place, between June and November 1992, are given in subsequent sections.

Interview KV091112: One morning, we are suddenly in blockade. That was on 11th June 1992. Nowhere to go. If you go anywhere, there are intersected lines. If you try, they arrest you, take you to prison, start molesting you, everything was happening. If you register to... to go voluntarily somewhere, you and your family, when a bus like that is filled you will be transferred to the [...front...] line at Vlastic, where the frontline used to be, Bosnia and Croatia, and that's where they let you go. But first they rob you and somebody gets beaten too if he was a male and so on. Or simply take them off [...the bus...], simply kill them and that's that. It doesn't matter, if he has signed, if he was an army conscript he ended up in jail. Somebody was killed, somebody was released and so on. So, this is how the ethnic cleansing started. And it lasted the whole summer. From 11th June until the end, when the winter days started people couldn't be in the woods any more, when the food ran out, when it was unpleasant to live and diseases started. This is, how they call it, 'humane resettlement'. It wasn't any humane resettlement, but it was ethnic cleansing. (KV091112)

My house is in the centre of Kotor Varoš and because of that somebody decided that it should be a military-strategic point. So my neighbourhood, which is located under a neighbourhood in Varoši better known as Bregovi, was turned over to a mortar platoon, because there were some unoccupied parts of the land with no buildings where they were digging those trenches. Because my grandmother, with whom my mother and I used to live, and are still living, in a house that was a ready-made, prefabricated house, which itself is quite porous and not good, any shooting - even sporadic or random shooting - would be fatal for the people who live there, so they moved out, this entire neighbourhood of prefabricated houses. It was taken over by the Serbian Army soldiers. After that... We were just told to leave the premises. We stayed in a village for three months. I can't remember when this happened but I think it was until autumn. I remember I went back to school when we came back to our house in Kotor Varos and the leaves were going yellow and falling. (Interviewee was 9 years old at the time). (KV261112)

This annex discussed the chronology of the war events primarily because it was relevant for a more thorough understanding of how long people had to observe, endure and participate in the disintegration of their lives in Kotor Varoš and Stolac. As the life they knew melted away rapidly it forced them to adapt to the changes, at the same time making difficult and potentially life-threatening decisions as to whether to leave or stay in their homes, whether to send their children and families away, and whether to join the army.

Annex 4: Survey Data – Experience/ Witnessing Violence 1992-1995

		GRAD	
		Stolac	Kotor Varoš
Did you experience any violence during the war 1992-1995 as a civilian?	Yes	93	36
	No	57	115
What form of violence did you experience?	Physical	26	15
	Sexual	0	0
	Being shot at	2	1
	Psychological	37	15
	Arrest	11	1
	Detention	1	1
	Displacement	16	1
	Other	0	2
Did you experience any violence during the war 1992-1995 as a soldier?	Yes	28	13
	No	16	20
Have you been imprisoned or detained as a soldier?	Yes	21	4
	No	23	29
Have you lost any close family members 1992-1995?	Yes	22	60
	No	128	91
Can you remember the date and the circumstances?	Yes	17	48
	No	5	12
Were you present when this happened?	Yes	3	4
	No	19	56
Have you witnessed fighting in the community during the war 1992-1995?	Yes	46	76
	No	104	75

Annex 5: Neighbourhood Interactions (Author's Data 2013)

		TOWN			
		Stolac		Kotor Varoš	
		Gender of the respondent			
		Male	Female	Male	Female
What was the most common place for socializing for you before 1992?	Work place	53	32	38	23
	Neighbourhood	10	38	7	58
	Bars and cafes	6	3	9	5
	Public spaces	3	0	3	3
	Religious places	0	2	0	0
	My home	0	2	2	2
	In school	0	1	0	1
	Other people's home	0	0	0	0
S9_Q4. Who do you spend most time with on daily basis (present time)?	Spouse	41	33	37	39
	Children	6	21	3	29
	Family	13	13	10	9
	Extended family	1	0	2	3
	Friends	5	3	1	0
	Neighbors	1	6	1	6
	Work colleagues	3	0	1	2
	Don't know	0	0	0	0
	Spend time alone	2	2	4	4
Do you know your neighbours personally?	Yes	71	77	59	88
	No	1	1	0	4
Is there anything you	Drink coffee	55	64	29	52

do together on regular basis?	Go to market/shop	1	1	0	3
	Prepare food for winter	0	0	2	3
	Make cakes	0	0	0	0
	Go for walk	2	2	0	1
	Attend community events	0	0	1	0
	Attend religious events	0	0	0	1
	No	13	10	27	28
Do you visit each other on religious holidays?	Yes	68	76	48	69
	No	3	1	11	19
Do you visit (invite) each other on family celebrations (birthdays, weddings, etc.)?	Yes	56	65	42	65
	No	15	12	17	23
Do you help each other around the house and garden?	Yes	42	42	36	49
	No	29	35	23	39
How much personal information do you know about your neighbours?	Everything	8	8	19	26
	4	29	40	21	39
	3	27	20	17	15
	2	8	10	2	9
	Nothing	0	0	0	3
How strongly do you feel you belong to your immediate neighbourhood?	Very strongly	19	31	22	35
	Fairly strongly	44	33	31	41
	Not very strongly	6	11	6	10
	Not at all strongly	2	2	0	6
	Don't know	1	1	0	0

Annex 6: Survey Questionnaire with Codes (Author's Data 2013)

Pre-questionnaire Information

Unique Code: _____

1. Date:	_ _ _ _	2. Start Time:	_ _ _ _	3. End Time:	_ _ _ _	This will be done automatically.
4.	Data Collector:	Initials		5.	Supervisor:	Initials
6.	Household Number:	_ _ _ _		7.	Municipality:	
8.	Mesna Zajednica:	_ _		9.	Neighbourhood (code):	

SECTION 1: Personal Information

1. Which year were you born in? *(For person to qualify need to be born in 1977 or older)*
2. How many persons live in this household permanently? *(People with registered ID at this address and including children)*
3. What is the gender of the respondent?
4. Is the respondent head of the household?
5. What is the relationship of the respondent with the head of the household? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
6. Is this your permanent residence *(i.e. Are you officially registered at this address)?*
7. If NO, where is your permanent place of residence? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
8. What is your marital status? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
9. Do you have children?
10. If YES, which year they were born in? *(List all)*
11. Who did you live with before 1992? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
12. Where are you from? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

13. Where did you live before 1992? *(Place of Residence)*

14. What best describes your religious beliefs? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

15. What best describes your ethnicity? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

Codes Index

S1Q5 Relationship to the head of the HH

1= Mother

2= Father

3= Spouse

4= Son 5= Daughter

6= Son in law 7= Daughter in law

8= Other

99= Don't know

S1Q12 Where are you from?

1=This town/ MZ

2= Other village in municipality (please name)

3=Other municipality in BiH

4=Other country (please name)

S1Q8 Marital Status

1= Single

2= Married

3= Widowed

4= Separated 5= Divorced

6= Other

7= Too young 99= Don't know

S1Q11 Who did you live with before 1991?

1=Spouse

3= Children

4= Daughter-in-law 5= Son-in-law

6= Parents

7= Grand-children

8= Mother-in law

9= Sibling

10= Other relative

11= Non-Relative 99= Don't know

S1Q12 Where are you from?

1=This town/ MZ

2= Other village in municipality (please name)

3=Other municipality in BiH

4=Other country

S1Q13 Where did you live before 1991?

1=This town/ MZ

2= Other village in this municipality (please name)

3=Other municipality in BiH (please name)

4=Other country

S1Q14 Religion

1=Muslim

2= Catholic 3=Orthodox 3=Atheist 4=Other

5=Prefer not to say

S1Q15 Ethnicity

1=Muslim

2= Bosnjak 3= Serb 3=Croat 4=Other 5=Mixed

6=Other 7=Prefer not to say

SECTION 2: Household/ Property Information. Some answers to the questions may be obvious but please provide answers.

1. Is this your house?
2. Did you? (*Please Refer to Codes*)
3. How long have you lived in this house? Months Years
4. How many rooms do you have in this house? No:
5. What is the approximate area (m²) of this house?
6. Have you lived in this house before the war 1992?
7. If YES, for how long? Months Years

If NO, go to Q11

8. Was this house damaged because of the war?

If NO go to next section 1C

9. How would you approximate the damage? (*Please Refer to Codes*)
10. Has the house been repaired?
11. If YES, in what way?

If NO go to next section.

12. Did you receive assistance for repairing your property?
13. If YES, from whom? (*Please Refer to Codes*)
14. How does your property compare to what it has been before the war? (*Please Refer to Codes*)

Codes Index

S2Q21 Property

- 1=Purchased
2= Given by someone
3= Given by authorities

- 4=Moved in because it was empty
5= Illegally occupied
6=Legally occupied
7=Rented
8=Other

S2Q9 Property damage

1= 0-25%

2= 25-50%

3= 50-75%

4= 75-99%

5= Completely destroyed

99=Don't know

S2Q11 House reparation

1= rebuilt

2= reconstructed

3= repaired

4= left damaged

5= Other

99=Don't know

S2Q14 House reparation assistance

1= Family

2= Extended family

3= In-laws

4= Local Government

5= Ministry for Refugees and IDPs

6 = Another Country Government

7 = UNHCR

8 = Other international/ humanitarian organization 9= which one?

99=Don't know

S2Q21 How does the property compare?

1= Same

2= Poorer quality

3= Better quality

4= Less rooms

5= More rooms

6 = Completely different

99=Don't know

SECTION 3: Displacement (groups)

1. Have you been displaced from this community during the war 1992-1995?
2. Have you been displaced from another community during the war 1992-1995?
3. Have you been displaced from somewhere else in this community during the war 1992-1995?
4. If YES, have you been displaced by force?
5. Did you have any valuables or possessions taken from you on departure?
6. If YES, what was it? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
7. Do you remember the date of displacement?
8. If YES = date
9. Where were you displaced? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

10. Who were you displaced with? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
11. How did you get to your final destination?
12. What kind of accommodation did you stay at your final destination? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
13. How many times did you move from your original place of displacement? *(Write number)*
14. Where did you go? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
15. Do you perceive forced displacement as an act of violence?

S3Q6 Valuables taken

- 1= Money
- 2= Jewellery (gold, silver)
- 3= Clothes
- 4= Food
- 5= Family memorabilia (photos, letters etc.)
- 6= Other

5= Acquaintance

5= Other people I didn't know

S3Q12 Where did you stay?

- 1= Empty house
- 2= House with some other people
- 3= Tent
- 4= Public building (collective accommodation)
- 5= Barn or similar adjacent object
- 6= Outside
- 7= Other (please write)

S3Q9 Where were you displaced?

- 1= Somewhere else in BiH
- 2= Somewhere else in former Yugoslav republics
- 3= Somewhere else abroad
- 4= Other

S3Q10 Who were you displaced with?

- 1= Family members
- 2= Extended family members
- 3= Neighbours
- 4= Friends

S3Q14 Where did you go?

- 1= Same municipality, different place
- 2= Different municipality
- 3= Abroad
- 4= Original community
- 5= Original municipality but different village
- 6= Other (please write)

SECTION 4: Return

1. Did you return to the place where you were living before 1992?

If NO go to Q10

2. If YES, Why did you return to the community? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
3. Which year did you return to the community?
4. Have you visited your house/ the community before returning?
5. If YES, how many times? Code
6. Upon returning to the community, did you immediately return to your own property?
7. If NO, why not? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
8. If NO, where did you stay first? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
9. After how long have you been able to move to your property?

Days Months Years Still didn't return

10. If you are not living in your pre-war house now and if you could, would you like to return home?
11. If NO, why not? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
12. Why did you choose to live in this community? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
13. Are you registered as an Internally Displaced Person (IDP)?

Yes No Doesn't know Doesn't wish to answer

S4A1 Why did you return?

- 1= Wanted to by 'in my own' (*na svome*)
- 2= Had to move out of accommodation where I was staying
- 3= Financial reasons
- 4= My parents wanted to return and I came back with them
- 5= I didn't feel sense of belonging where I was

6= To join spouse

7= Other (please write)

S4Q7 Reasons for not moving back to house

- 1= Living somewhere else
- 2= Got married
- 3= Got divorced
- 4= Got widowed

5= Economic reasons

99=Don't know

6 = Other

S4A8 Where did you stay on return?

1= Someone else's house

6= Had no choice

7= Like current place more

2= Collective accommodation

8= No specific reason

99= Don't know

3= Family

4= Friends

5= In-laws

6= Other (please write)

S4Q12 Decision to live in the community

1= Personal reasons (marriage, friends etc.)

2= Financial reasons (job, income)

3= Prefer this location to the pre-war one

S4Q11 Returning to pre-war house

4= Pre-war property not repaired

5= Bad memories from the pre-war

1= Personal life somewhere else

2= Financially settled somewhere else

6= Had no choice

3= Prefer present location to the pre-war one

7= No specific reason

4= Pre-war property not repaired

8= Other

5= Better climate

99= Don't know

SECTION 5: Post 1995 Violence - Direct experience

I will now ask you some questions about your life since 1996 that you may find upsetting or disturbing. Please feel free to request a break from answering the questions.

1. Can you state the date when the war started in BiH?
2. Can you state the date of war ending in BiH?
3. When did the war start in this community?
4. When did the war end in this community?
5. Did you live in the community any time between 1992-1995?
6. Did you live in this community since 1996?
7. Did you experience any violence since in this community since 1996?
8. Have you been exposed to offensive comments (e.g. stereotypic statements, offensive jokes), spoken either in your presence or behind your back since 1996?

9. Have you been subjected to name-calling (e.g. related to your ethnicity or religion) since 1996?
10. Have you felt that certain places in this community were off limits (physically, socially) since 1996?
11. Have you felt that certain opportunities (economically, socially) in this community were off limits since 1996?
12. Have you felt that barriers were erected to keep you out of certain places (physically, economically, socially) since 1996?
13. Have you received unfair treatment in the community from any of the following service providers since 1996? *(Please Refer to Codes, Tick all applicable)*
14. Have you received unfair treatment from others at your job (e.g. boss, supervisor, colleagues) since 1996? *(Please Refer to Codes, Tick all applicable)*
15. Have you received unfair treatment from anyone in your immediate environment since 1996? *(Please Refer to Codes, Tick all applicable)*
16. How often have others threatened to hurt you since 1996?
17. How often have others threatened to damage your property since 1996?
18. How often have others physically hurt you since 1996?
19. How often have others damaged your property since 1996?
20. Did you recognize the perpetrators or knew them personally?
21. Were you targeted individually or as a household/ house?

Individually Household
22. Did you report this to the relevant authorities?
23. If YES, to whom? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
24. Have they been prosecuted?
25. If NOT, why not? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

26. Have you experienced violence from a family member since 1996?

27. Have you experienced violence from a family member before 1991?

S5Q13 Unfair Treatment - Service Providers

1=Health

2=Education

3=Social Services

4= Local Job Centre

5= Local Council Services

6= Local Police

7= Local Transport Provider

8= Other

99= Don't know

3= Colleagues

4= Clients

5= Other

99= Don't know

S5Q23 Reporting Violence

1= Local Police

2= Local Council Services

3= Local Health Centre

4= Law Enforcement in the nearby urban centre

5= Health provider in the nearby urban centre

6= Local Social Services

7= Social Services in the nearby urban centre

8= Other

99= Don't know

S5Q14 Unfair Treatment - Private

1= Family members

2= In-laws

3=Extended family member

4= Friend

5= Acquaintances

6= Spouse

7= Children

8= Other

99= Don't know

S5Q25 Reporting Violence

1= Too scared

2= Embarrassed

3= Don't trust local police

4= No faith in legal system

5= Didn't want others to find out

6= Other

7= Don't know

S2Q15 Unfair Treatment - Work place

1= Boss

2= Supervisors

SECTION 6: 1992-1995 Violence - Direct experience

1. Did you experience any violence during the war 1992-1995 as a civilian?

2. If YES, what form of violence did you experience? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

3. Have you been a member of any armed group?

4. If YES, did you experience any violence during the war 1992-1995 as a soldier?

If NO go to Q7

5. Have you been imprisoned or detained as a soldier?

6. If YES, where were you held? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

7. Have you lost any close family members between 1992-1995?

8. If yes, can you remember the date and the circumstances?

9. Were you present when this happened?

10. Was anyone one else present? If YES, who? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

11. Have you been protected from violence on any occasions between 1992-1995?

12. If YES, by whom? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

13. If YES, can you remember exact date (month, year)?

S6Q2 Violence

1=Physical

2= Sexual

3= Being shot at

4=Psychological

5= Arrest

6=Detention

7=Displacement

8=Other

99= Don't know

S6Q6 Detention Centre

S6Q12 Protected from violence?

1= Family members

2= Relatives

1= Gabela 2= Dretelj 3= Heliodrom

4= School

5= Hospital

6= Other

S6Q10 Family member violence

1= Family members

2= Relatives

3= Friends

4= Neighbours

5= General public

6= Other

3= Friends

4= Neighbours

5= General public

6= Other

SECTION 7: Witnessed violence

1. Have you witnessed any act of violence in your community since the end of the war 1995?
2. If YES, can you remember the date (month, year)?
3. Have you witnessed any of the above acts being carried out against persons in the community? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
4. Have you witnessed any act of violence in your community during the war 1992-1995?
5. Have you eye-witnessed destruction of one of the following: *(Please Refer to Codes)*
6. If YES, what means of destruction was used? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
7. Have you witnessed fighting in the community during the war?
8. If YES, where did it happen? Write
9. Have you witnessed any acts of violence against people since the war ended?
10. Have you been or lived in the community in December 1995/ January 1996?
11. If YES, have you witnessed destruction of large number of private or public property in the town during this time?
12. How many properties did you witness being destroyed?
13. Have you witnessed acts of violence against person(s) anywhere else between 1992-1995?
14. Do you have any knowledge about violent events from the Second World War in your community?
15. If YES, are these personal memories or stories?
16. Has your family or extended been affected by violence during the Second World War?

17. Is somebody you know have been affected by violence during the Second World War?

18. Have any of your actions during the war 1992-1995 been affected by the memories or knowledge of the past violence from the WWII?

S7Q3 Violence

1=Physical

2= Sexual

3= Being shot at

4=Psychological

5= Arrest

6=Detention

7=Displacement

8=Other

3= Religious objects

4=Historical monuments

5= Cultural heritage

6=Community landmarks (symbols)

7 = Industrial/ manufacturing sites

8=Other

S7Q5 Property Damage

1= Private property

2= Communal property

S7Q6 Property Damage

1= Arson

2= Explosives

3= Shelling

4= Bulldogged

5= Other

SECTION8: Household Economic Activity

1. Are you employed?

If NO go to Q10

2. If YES, what is your main employment/ job sector? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

3. If YES, have you received your salary, payment, fee for the past month?

4. How much do you earn per month? *(Amount in KM)*

5. If Q3 is NO What is the last month you were paid for?

6. Do you get you contributions paid by your employer? (pension, health insurance, social security)

7. If NO, which month/year this has been paid for you?

8. If NO, did you work for without a fee, over the last week, even if for one hour?

9. Have you worked in more than one job over the last month?

10. Is someone else in the household employed?

11. If YES, who? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

If NO go to Q18.

12. Are they employed locally?

13. If NO, where are they employed? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

14. Did they have to move away for this job?

15. If YES, how long have they been away? Months Years

16. Is this job seasonal?

17. Are they sending remittances to the household?

18. Do you know the word *štela*?

19. If YES can you tell me what it means?

20. To what extent do you agree with this statement: It is possible to get a permanent job in this community without personal connections?

Sliding scale 1-5

21. To what extent do you agree with this statement: It is possible to get paid work in this community without personal connections?

Sliding scale 1-5

22. To what extent do you agree with this statement: People in this community get discriminated in job allocations because of their ethnicity?

Sliding scale 1-5

23. Have you ever been discriminated against on ethnic or religious basis when getting a job?
24. Have you ever been openly told you won't get an employment because of your ethnic or religious belonging?
25. How did you get your job? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
26. Have you been employed before 1992?
27. If YES, how many years have you been employed for?
28. Are you retired now? If NO go to Q31
29. If YES, which year did you take your retirement?
30. If YES Are you receiving minimal pension?
31. If NO, are you waiting to become eligible for age retirement?

Codes Index

10= Other

S8Q2 Employment

- 1= Government job/ civil servant
- 2= Private company
- 3= Own business
- 4= Services
- 5= Seasonal work
- 6=Non-profit
- 7=Agriculture
- 8=Other

S8Q11 Employed in the HH

- 1=Spouse
- 3= Children
- 4= Daughter-in-law 5= Son-in-law
- 6= Parents
- 7= Grand-children
- 8= Mother-in law
- 9= Sibling

S8Q13 Place of employment

- 1= Other village in municipality (please name)
- 2=Other municipality in BiH (please name)
- 3=Other country (please name)
- 99=Don't know

S8Q25 Reasons for not moving back to house

- 1= I applied for advertised position
- 2= Personal invitation to apply
- 3= Recommended by someone I know
- 4= Job place opened for me
- 5= Family connections
- 6 = I bribed someone to be employed
- 7 = I joined a political party
- 8 = Other
- 99=Don't know

SECTION 9: Personal Interactions

Questions of trust

1. How important to you personally is what happened during the war to your community and the country, 1992 to 1995? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
2. How significant for your present life are your personal experiences during the war, 1992 to 1995? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
3. To what extent your personal experiences during the war 1992-1995 affect your interactions and cooperation with people in your community? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
4. Who do you spend most time with on daily basis? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
5. Did you make adjustments in the last five years to who do you see on regular basis and occasionally?
6. If YES, why? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
7. What was the most common place for socialising for you before 1992? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
8. Do you know your neighbours personally?
9. How long have you know them for? Months Years
10. Is there anything you do together on regular basis? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
11. Do you visit each other on religious holidays?
12. Do you visit (invite) each other on family celebrations (birthdays, weddings, etc.)?
13. Do you help each other around the house and garden (**okućnica**)?
14. How much personal information do you know about your neighbours? Sliding scale 1-5
15. How strongly do you feel you belong to your immediate neighborhood? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

16. Are there specific places in the village/ parts of the town that you go to more often?

17. If YES, what is the reason for this? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

18. Do you avoid interactions with people for one of the following reasons? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

19. In the neighbourhood where you live now, is your national/ethnic group in the majority or a minority or is there a balance?

S9Q1 Importance of the war experience

1=Very important, I'll never forget it

2= Affected me deeply, I changed a lot

3=Important, but I have moved on with my life

4=I am trying to forget it

5=It is not important to me, and has no impact on me whatsoever

99= Don't know

S9Q2 Importance of the war experience

1=Very important, I'll never forget it

2= Affected me deeply, I changed a lot

3=Important, but I have moved on with my life

4=I am trying to forget it

5=It is not important to me, and has no impact on me whatsoever

99= Don't know

S9Q3 Impact of the war experience

1=Very much

2= Not much, only in some situations

3=Not at all, I still interact with people as before

4=My cooperation with people has improved

99= Don't know

S9Q4 Who do you spend most time with?

1=Spouse

2= Children

3= Family

4= Extended family

5=Friends

6=Neighbors

7= Work colleagues

99= Don't know

S9Q6 reason for change in interactions

1= I trust people less

2= Because of something people did during the war

3= Because I feel less sociable since the war

4= My closest circle of people doesn't live in the community any more

5= I don't work, no work colleagues

6= I don't feel safe

7= I don't have money for socializing

8= Other

S9Q7 Place for socializing before the war

1= Work place

2= Neighborhood

3= Bars and cafes

4= Public spaces

5= Religious places

6= My home

7= Other people's home

8= Other

S9Q10 Things I do together with neighbours

1= Drink coffee

2= Go to market/ shop

3= Prepare food for winter

4= Make cakes

5=Go for walk

6=Attend community events

7= Attend religious events

8= Other

S9Q15 Sense of belonging to neighbourhood

1= Very strongly

2= Fairly strongly

3= Not very strongly

4= Not at all strongly

99= Don't know

S9Q18 Avoiding interactions

1= Other ethnicity

2= Other religion

3= Other sex

4= Because they are wealthier than me

S9Q19 Neighbourhood ethnicity

1= Majority

S9Q17 Where do you go most in town

1= To visit family

2= To visit friends

3= To visit old neighborhood

4= To go to work

5= Shopping

6= To my allotment

7= To socialize

8= To religious objects

9= To join collective activities

10= Other

5= Because they are poorer than me

6= I know they did something bad during the war

7= They use personal connections for personal gain

8= Active in politics

9= Other

2= Minority

3= Balance

99= Don't know

SECTION 10: Community interactions and cooperation

1. In making important community decisions how important is the local council?
Sliding scale 1-5
2. In making important community decisions how important are political groups?
Sliding scale 1-5
3. In making important community decisions how important are informal groups (associations, cooperatives, neighborhood groups)? Sliding scale 1-5
4. How important is membership in local associations for getting access to development aid? Sliding scale 1-5
5. Have you received any development aid (agriculture, support for small business, other)?
6. If YES, how? *(Please Refer to Codes)*
7. Are you a member of any associations, teams or clubs of the following type? *(Please Refer to Codes, Tick all that apply)*
8. Are you a member of any of the following organizations? *(Please Refer to Codes, Tick all that apply)*
9. Are you active in any of the associations, teams or clubs where you are a member?
10. If YES, how many times per week do you attend meetings/ activities?
11. If YES, have you organized communal events in the past five years?
12. If YES, have you organized environmental actions in the community in the past five years?
13. Are you a member of school Parent Board?
14. Are you a member of any religious organization?
15. Do you regularly attend community events?
16. How important is the institution of marriage in your community?

Very Somewhat Not so important Not sure Don't know

17. How important is institution of family in your community?

Very Somewhat Not so important Not sure Don't know

18. To what degree would you agree with the following statement: Some families in this community are very influential. Sliding scale 1-5

19. Are you holding yearly family gatherings?

20. If YES, do you usually attend?

21. Have you ever gain access to one of the following benefits because of your family background? *(Please Refer to Codes)*

22. Did you vote in the last local elections 2012?

23. Did you vote in the last general elections 2010?

S10Q6 Development aid

- 1= Membership in association
- 2= Membership in political party
- 3= I knew the person distributing aid
- 4= I applied to relevant authorities
- 5= I've been approached by aid distributor directly
- 7= Other

S10Q7 Local Associations and Groups

- 1= Sports, arts, music, folkloric, youth or other leisure group
- 2= Political party
- 3= Professional, business or entrepreneurial association
- 4= CSO/ NGO
- 5= Veteran's association, veteran war invalids' association, or civilian victims of war association
- 6= IDP association or returnee association
- 7= Other

S10Q8 Local Organizations and Groups

- 1= Religious charity organization/association
- 2= Women's, citizens, student, pensioners or environmental association
- 3= Service or social welfare organization
- 4= Mjesna Zajednica board
- 5= Any other organization or group that meets regularly

S10Q21 Benefit from groups

- 1= Job
- 2= Political position
- 3= Government position
- 4= Credit/ Loan
- 5= Development aid
- 6= Property
- 7= Other

Annex 7: Interviewee List

Person (Gender)	Stolac	Date	Recorded	Length	Tr s.	Document	Oral history
1. ST310112 (F)			N	120'	✓	Stolac interview_31012012	Yes
2. ST020212 (M)	SDP	02 Feb 2012	Phone	Approx. 60'	✓	Stolac interview_02022012	
3. ST090412 (F)	Orhideja	09 Apr 2012	N		✓	Stolac interview_09042012	
4. ST110412 (M)	CSW	11 Apr 2012	Y	1:13:06	✓	Stolac11_04_2012_T.docx	
5. ST120412 (F)	Nursery/Pre- School	12 Apr 2012	Y	1:14:37	✓	Stolac12_04_2012_T.docx	Partly
6. ST130312 (M)	Municipality	13 Apr 2012	Y	1:19:50	✓	Stolac13_04_2012_T.docx	
7. ST160412 (M)	Secondary School	16 Apr 2012	N	60'		Written notes	
8. ST170412 (F)	Friend	17 Apr 2012	N		✓	Stolac interviews_2012	Yes, non- documented
9. ST0412 (F)	Neighbour	April 2012	N				Partly
10. MO180412(F)	NANSEN	18 Apr 2012	N				
FG190412	Orhideja	19 Apr 2013	Video	21:46			Yes
11. ST230412 (F)	Health Centre	23 Apr 2012	N				
12. ST230412a (M)	Serbian Refugees	23 Apr 2012	N				Partly

	NGO						
13. ST230412b (M)	Cafe	23 Apr 2012	N				
14. ST240412		24 Apr 2012	N				Partly
FG260412	Orhideja	26 April 2012	Video	1:40:34			
15. ST270412 (M)	Police	27 Apr 2012	N			Short notes	
1 ST May Concert	Street	1 st May 2012	Video	00:23 02:56 02:19 02:13 01:00 02:51 01:50 03:51			
16. ST010512	1 st May Auto market	1 st May 2012	Video	03:38		Written notes	
17. ST030512	Secondary School	3 May 2012	Y	1:26:25	✓	Stolac03_05_2012 1006 Voice Memo.docx	Yes
FG040512	EKO TUR	4 May 2012	Video		?		
18. ST050512	Private	5 May 2012	N		✓	Notes, nice chat	Yes
19. ST070512		7 May 2012	Y	50:59	✓	Stolac07_05_2012 1011 Voice Memo.docx	
20. ST030612	Private	3 Jun 2012	N			Stolac interview_03062012.docx	Yes

Video	Ajvatovica	17 Jun 2012	Video	02:47 04:52 01:42			
21. ST200612	Private	20 Jun 2012	Y	02:39:10	✓	Stolac 20_06_2012.docx	Partly
Video	Private	21 Jun 2012		01:16 01:38 02:00 01:11 00:15 04:08 00:22		Tisa and I walking around Stolac, filming and commenting	
22. ST0805050612	Private	May, June 2012	N				
23. ST270612	Business	27 Jun 2012	Phone		✓	Needs follow up	
24. ST2706 12	Private	27 Jun 2012	Y	1:45:40 17:32 11:57		Stolac 27_06_2012_T.docx Stolac 27_06_2012 continued_T.docx	Yes
25. ST290612	Private	29 Jun 2012 (28?)	N			Written notes	Partly
26. ST180712	Public, Private	18 July 2012	N			Written notes	
27. ST210712	Private	21 July 2012	Video	43:21 09:36			Yes
28. ST230712	NGO	23 July	Video				Yes

		2012					
29. ST230712a (M)	Business	23 July 2012	N				
30. ST250712 (M)	Private	25 Jul 2012	N				
31. ST260712 (F)	Private	26 Jul 2012	Y	1:10:10	✓	Stolac 26_07_2012 doc_T.docx	Yes
32. ST270712 (M)	Job Centre	27 Jul 2012	N				
33. ST17082012 (M)	Inkos	17 Aug 2012	N				
34. ST18082012a (F)	Private	18 Aug 2012	N			Notes	Yes
35. ST18082012b (F)	Private	18 Aug 2012	N			Notes	Yes
FG22082012	Focus Group	22 Aug 2012	?				
36. ST22082012 (F)	Orhideja	22 Aug 2012	Y	1:16:29		Stolac 22_08_2012_T.docx	Yes
37. ST24082012 (M)	Dom zdravlja Uzinovici	24 Aug 2012	Y	1:39:04	✓	Stolac24_08_2012 doc_T.docx	
38. ST13042013a (M)	Opstina	13 Apr 2013	N		LS		
39. ST13042013b (Survey 1)	Uzinovici Husband and wife	13 Apr 2013	N		LS	10 am start Very nervous	
40. ST13042013c (Survey 2) (F)	Uzinovici Woman	13 April 2013	N		LS	House at the back, nice	

41. ST13042013d (Survey 3) (M)	Uzinovici Man	13 Apr 2013	N		LS	Working in front of the house	
42. ST13042013e (Survey 4) (F)	A woman	13 Apr 2013	N		LS	Don't remember	
43. ST14042013 (M)	Private (nar)	14 Apr 2013		1:17:35	LS		?
44. ST15042013a (F)	Primary School Director	15 Apr 2013	N		LS		
45. ST15042013b		15 Apr 2013	Y	13:54	LS		Yes
46. ST16042013a	Orhideja	16 Apr 2013	Y	36:45	LS		
47. ST16042013b (M)	SDP	16 Apr 2013	N		LS		
48. ST16042013c (M)	Kafic	16 Apr 2013	Y	1:41:02	LS		Yes
49. ST17042013a	Private	17 Apr 2013	N		LS	Don't recognize	
50. ST17042013b	Survey	17 Apr 2013	N		LS	Sedeli u Rafaelo	Yes
51. ST18042013a	Private	18 Apr 2013	Y	11:10 30:39	LS	Refugees	Yes
52. ST18042013b (F)	Private	18 Apr 2013	N		LS	Not reliable	
53. ST19042013a (F)	Private	19 Apr 2013	Y Corrupt	45:00	LS	Memory of past Stolac	Yes
54. ST19042013b (M)	INKOS	19 Apr	N		LS		

		2013				
55. ST20042013 (F)	Survey	20 Apr 2013	N		LS	Yes

Person (Gender)	Kotor Varos	Date	Record	Length	Tr s.	Document	Oral History
1. KV11102012a (F)	School	11 Oct 2012	N				
2. KV11102012b (M)	Private	11 Oct 2012	N				
3. KV11102012c (M)	NGO	11 Oct 2012	N				
4. KV02112012 (M)	Opstina	2 Nov 2012	N			Few words	
5. KV05112012 (M)	NGO	5 Nov 2012	N				
6. KV06112012a (F)	Opstina	6 Nov 2012	Y	01:34:26	✓	KV06_11_2012V_T.docx	
7. KV06112012b (M)	Catholic Church	6 Nov 2012	N				
8. KV06112012c (F)	Opsina	6 Nov 2012	Y	01:06:43	✓	KV06_11_2012E_T.docx	
9. KV08112012 (F)	Zupni Ured	8 Nov 2012	N				
10. KV09112012a (M)	Private	9 Nov 2012	Y	1:26:51 2:44	✓	KV09_11_2012_T.docx KV09_11_2012second part_T.docx	Yes
11. KV09112012b (M)	Journalist	9 Nov	Y	48:56		KV09_11_2012 MPEG-4	

		2012				audio file-1.docx	
12. KV10112012 (M)	NVO	10 Nov 2012	Y	24:00 1:23:20	✓	KV10_11_2012V_T.docx KV10_11_2012V second part_T.docx	Yes
13. KV26112012 (F)	Nursery	26 Nov 2012		45:27 30:08		KV26_11_2012 doc no 18_T.docx KV26_11_2012 doc no 19_T.docx	Yes
14. KV28112012a (F)	Private (Kotor)	28 Nov 2012	1/2	43:19	✓	KV28 November 2012_T.docx	
15. KV28112012b	Random	28 Nov 2012	Video	00:47 01:14			
16. KV10122012 (F)	Opstina	10 Dec 2012	Y	41.52	LS		
17. KV12122012a (M)	Islamska zajednica	12 Dec 2012	Y	01:05:43	LS		
18. KV10122012b	Private (Kotor)	12 Dec 2012	Y	71:41	LS		Yes
19. KV10122012c	Random	12 Dec 2012	Video	00:36 00:26			
20. KV10122013a (M)	NGO	13 Dec 2012	Y	40:44	LS		
21. KV10122013b(M)	Opstina	13 Dec 2012	Y	38.25	LS		
22. KV10122013c	NGO	13 Dec 2012	Y	58.43	LS		
23. KV15122015a (M)	Private	15 Dec 2012	Y	03:36	LS		

24. KV15122013b (F)	Private	15 Dec 2012	Y	27:40	LS		Yes
25. KV15122013c (M)	Private	15 Dec 2012	Y	19:44	LS		Partly
26. KV16122013a	Udruzenje	16 Dec 2012	Y	45:38	✓	KV16_12_2012mp3_T.docx + Written notes in LS	
27. KV16122013b (F)	Private	16 Dec 2012	N	22:34	LS		Yes
28. KV16122013c	Private	16 Dec 2012	Y	49:36	LS		Yes
29. KV17122013a (F)	Private	17 Dec 2012	Y	24:14	LS		Yes
30. KV17122013b	Group	17 Dec 2012	Y	53:29	✓		
31. KV18122013 (F)	Private/ Folklor	18 Dec 2012	Y	56:05	LS		Yes
32. KV24042013 (F)	Survey (Bjanka) 6:43 pm	24 Apr 2013	Y	01:36	LS	Cousin from Sweden watched on TV "war" in KV, all was staged.	
33. KV25042013a (M)	Survey (Sasa) Vecici	25 Apr 2013	N		LS		Yes
34. KV25042013b (F)	Survey Vecici	25 Apr 2013	Y	24:15 6:15	LS	I ate pie	?
35. KV25042013c (F)	Survey Vecici	25 Apr 2013	Y	50:51 1:56	LS		Yes
36. KV25042013d (M)	Survey Vecici	25 Apr 2013	Y	22:44	LS		
37. KV26042013	Survey	26 Apr	N		LS	Women in the yard; one in a	

	Vrbanjci	2013				house; one man (Croatia); one in front of house; whole family garden; one woman (domestic violence)	
38. KV27042013a	Survey (close to mosque)	27 Apr 2013	Y	24:31	LS		Yes
39. KV27042013b	?	27 Apr 2013	N		LS		
40. KV27042013c	Survey Main road	27 Apr 2013	Y	?	LS		Yes
41. KV28042013a	Survey (Kotor) Jasmina	28 Apr 2013	Y	11:12 17:56 13:21		Scanned documents	Unreliable
42. KV28042013b (F)	Survey (Kotor) J	28 Apr 2013	N		LS		Yes
43. KV28042013c	Survey (Kotor) J	28 Apr 2013	N		LS	Hostility	
44. KV28042013d	Survey (Kotor) Jasmina	28 Apr 2013	Y	15:21	LS	Notes	Yes unreliable
45. KV29042013		29 Apr 2013	Y	50:23 13:10	LS		
46. KV30042013a (M)	Police	30 Apr 2013	N		LS	Police chief from BL approved my access to data	
47. KV30042013b (M)	Survey	30 Apr 2013	Y	09:26	LS		
48. KV30042013c (F)	Survey (Bare)	30 Apr 2013	Y	12:19 07:47	LS		Yes
49. KV30042013d (F)	Survey (Bare)	30 Apr	Y	1:03:35	LS		Yes

		2013					
50. KV02052013 (F)	Survey (Zabrdje)	02 May 2013	N		LS		Yes
51. KV03052013 (F)	Survey check (Kotor)	3 May 2013	Y	24:44	LS		Yes

